THE CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

Devoted to the Economic, Political and Social Development of China and its Intercourse with Other Nations

Real Responsibility for Nanking Incident!

Nanking, Turning Point In Eastern And World Affairs

By J. B. P.

Was the Soviet Plotting to Turn All China Red?

By Charles Dailey

Chang Tso-ling's Unique Opportunity

By A. Gordon Melvin

What Happened in Kiukiang Last January

By Arthur Ransome

許密勒報

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1927

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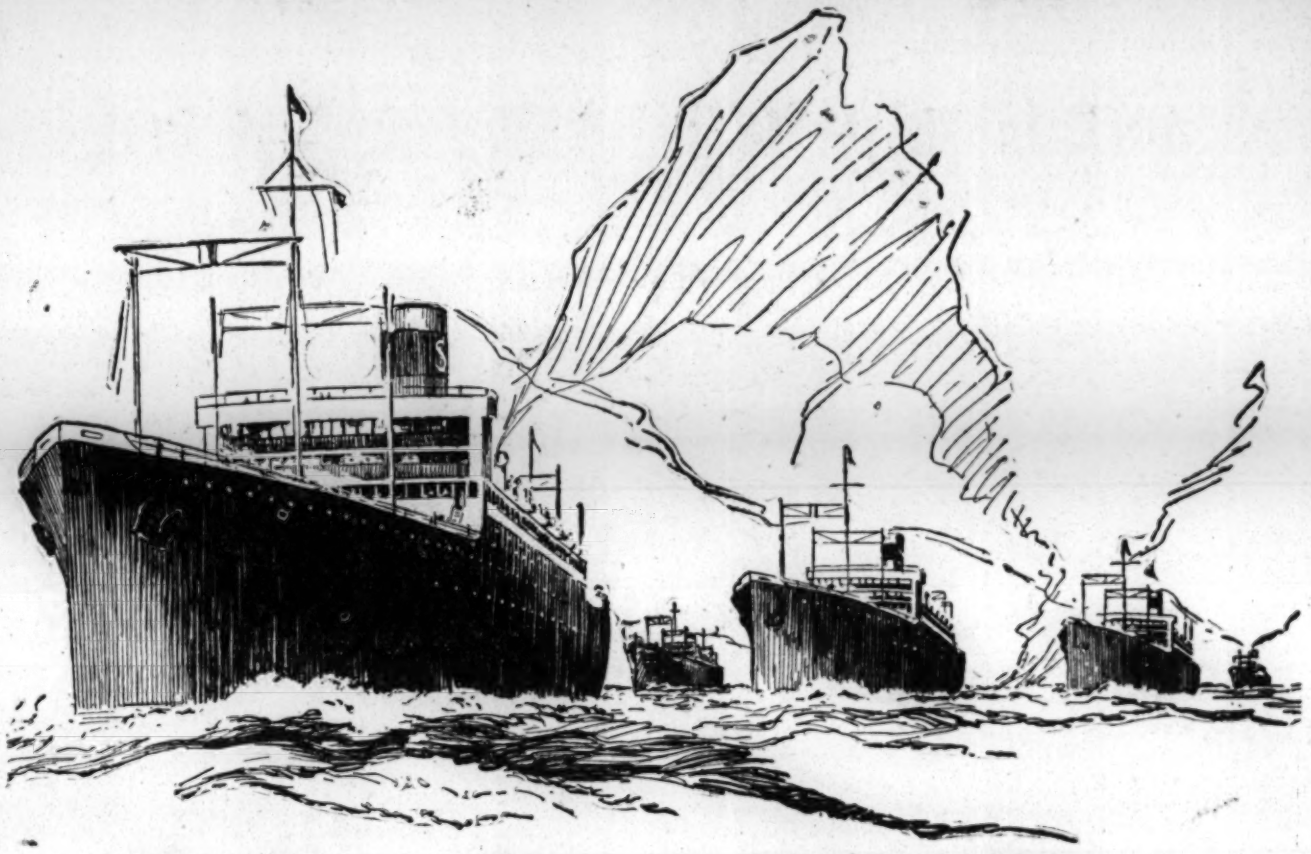

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REAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NANKING ATROCITIES!

THE FOREIGN consuls at Nanking and foreigners who were involved in the Nanking incident are practically unanimous in their declarations that the Nanking affair was perpetrated by Nationalist troops, otherwise Chinese soldiers wearing the uniform of the Nationalist army. Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and other Nationalist officials who have made reference to the question of responsibility for Nanking have attempted to place the blame on the Northern troops or upon the Nanking rabble which took advantage of the period of disorder which prevailed following the defeat of the Northerners and before the occupation of the city by the Southerners. However, when faced with practically indisputable testimony that the Nanking atrocities were the work of Nationalist troops, or at least of troops wearing their uniforms, the Nationalists have fallen back on the explanation that "possibly the Nanking atrocities were the work of certain factions, chiefly communistic, within the Nationalist Party which attempted in this way to discredit Gen. Chiang Kai-shek." This explanation has been convenient for the Chiang Kai-shek adherents who are looking for excuses to discredit the Hankow faction. Thus has the Nanking incident become a sort of political football in Chinese politics for each side is trying to use it to discredit the other and we have no doubt that the leaders of both Hankow and Nanking have a secret feeling that the split in the Kuomintang may in some way serve to distract certain Powers which had in contemplation some form of strong action in this regard.

IT HAS BEEN unfortunate that the Nationalist Government, either Hankow or Nanking, has not come out with a definite and official explanation of the Nanking incidents. It is known that they have conducted an investigation, in fact they admitted as much in the Notes which Eugene Chen sent to the five Powers on the question. Possibly this explanation will be made public before these lines appear in print, but regardless of what the explanation may be, the real reason or inspiration for the Nanking atrocities goes far deeper than the responsibility or irresponsiblity of any particular faction. The outstanding facts of the Nanking murders, brutal attacks on foreigners, and destruction of foreign properties, is that they were perpetrated by people of the Chinese race regardless of the uniforms which they happened to be wearing at the time. And what was the reason for this? Surely not mere robbery, for it is possible to rob people without killing or maiming them. The reason was suggested in a conversation which the writer of these paragraphs recently had with a well

educated Chinese, a man of the official class who was educated abroad and has traveled in most countries of the world. In answer to a question as to whether he, believed that foreign women had been raped in the course of the Nanking incidents, the Chinese replied: "It is quite possible that they were, but if they were the foreigners can chalk it up against the vast numbers of Chinese women who were raped by foreign soldiers in North China during the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. It is here that we find the explanation for the Nanking atrocities. The Chinese who perpetrated the Nanking brutalities had in them all of the age-long stored-up animosities of Chinese or Orientals generally toward the white race. Foreign dealings with Orientals (with the exception of the Japanese in recent years) has been signalized by the one word FORCE, and in all too many instances it has been signalized by outright brutalities. It is not necessary to refer to the Nanking Road incident of May 30 or the succeeding incidents at Shameen, Kiukiang and Hankow of 1925 or the Wanhsien incident of last year to illustrate our meaning. Foreign contact with China has always, or almost always, been signalized by the use of force. Right now foreign gunboats proceeding up the Yangtsze are constantly being fired upon by the Chinese, both Northerners and Southerners and the gunboats reply in kind. When peoples resort to these methods of settling differences anything can happen, so in the light of this situation the Nanking atrocities of recent date were but a natural resultant of a long course of events and it doesn't make any particular difference as to the individual responsibility, for the principle applies. So long as we continue to enforce our so-called rights in this part of the world by resorting to primitive force, we have no possible grounds for being offended when the Chinese retaliate in kind. The only reason we adopt these methods here is that we think we have superior force and hope to get away with it. We would not dream for a minute of using such methods in our dealings with the Japanese, for obvious reasons.

MUST WE CHANGE OUR EXECUTIVES?

THERE'S A FOREIGN merchant in Shanghai manager of a small import and export business, who is quite active in the Special Police, in fact has been active in the Special Police for several years. In the riots following the May 30 incidents of 1925 this man happened to be on duty at one of the critical points where there was considerable shooting and after the riot had been suppressed, he boasted that he had "sent three of the blankety-blank rioters to the hospital." This foreigner's entire viewpoint on Chinese affairs is indicated in the quoted remark above which causes us to wonder whether it is not going to be necessary for many of the leading foreign business houses in China to change their executives in view of the dawning of a new day in China. We are saying nothing new when we declare that the day of the 'old China hand' is finished and in making the statement we don't care whether the 'old China hand' is engaged in business or missionary activities. The old statement that it is difficult to teach an old dog new tricks, has a peculiar application to the mentality of many foreign business men in China today. They view China in terms of pre-revolutionary Boxer days, when a foreigner was a little king; when the Chinese who dared jostle a foreigner on the street received a swift kick if he wasn't actually turned over to the police for stronger punishment. These days, however, have passed. A New China has come into being that is all strange and unfamiliar to the 'old China hand.' The 'old China hand' still thinks of China as a nation of coolies fit only to consume foreign goods and be 'good little boys.' Their whole political philosophy is bound up in the phrase, "We ought to send a gunboat." Obviously men with this outlook on Chinese affairs are worse than useless in China today. They have no understanding or sympathy with what is going on, hence they are a detriment, rather than a help to business. They should be recalled home immediately and their places filled by men of new vision who do have some knowledge of and sympathy for what the Chinese people are trying to accomplish.

TWO MERCHANTS' VIEWS ON THE CHINA SITUATION

THE OTHER day we heard two American merchants express their view on the China situation. One of these merchants is in the wholesale grocery business, at least that's what it is called in America. However, he calls himself by what he considers to be the more dignified title of 'importer and exporter' out here so we will let him have his way. This man was expressing himself rather forcibly regarding conditions in Hankow. "Why, I lost a $5,000 order in Hankow last week. We ought to send a gunboat up there and shoot hell out of those communists." Those were his exact words and they express exactly the entire range of his political philosophy in respect to Chinese-American relations. The other man is the head of an American business with widespread international ramifications. Here's what he said about the China situation: "If this is a genuine nationalist revolution as it seems to be, and if China is to be unified as a result of this revolution, well, I'm willing to sacrifice every dollar of our investments in China at this time. I'm not even worrying about the safety of my residence here in Shanghai. They can have that too, if they want it. What I am interested in is a unified China and if that is to result from the present disturbed political situation, well, I'll take my chances on the future for I know that I'll make back every dollar that I may lose now as a result of the present disturbance." The man who made this statement has millions at stake in China. The man who made the previous statement has a little one-horse business that wouldn't cause anybody any particular worry if it should close up tomorrow. Unfortunately it's the little fellows with the 'peanut' minds and viewpoints who are dominating public opinion among foreigners in China today. Fortunately it's the men with broader viewpoints and imaginations who are dominating American policy at home, hence the little fellows are not doing a great deal of harm except to themselves and their fellows of similar viewpoint in Shanghai today.

New Kuomintang Publication at Hankow

"Chinese Correspondence" is the title of a new publication being issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in Hankow. The publication is entirely in the English language and contains some 30 pages. Among the editorials are discussions pertaining to "Peace in the Far East or Another World War," "The Danger of Intervention," "Workers and Intellectuals of Great Britain," "Friends of Nationalist China," "To the American People," "American Proletarians and Farmers," "Imperialist Intervention in China." There are also a number of special articles, among them being "The Nanking Incident," by a British correspondent; "Imperialist Intervention in China," by N. Roy; declarations of the Central Executive Committee, the Communist Party, etc.

Nanking, A Turning Point in Far Eastern and World Affairs!

BY J. B. POWELL

FOREIGNERS residing in China are usually too close to events in this part of the world to realize their international significance, but despite this handicap and the fact that the so-called 'die-hard' propaganda is still prevalent,there is nevertheless beginning to develop a realization that the Nanking events of last April and the final failure of the Powers to adopt retaliatory measures, really marks the turning point in what has generally been known as the Far Eastern Question. It is of course too early to gauge the final outcome of the events which have emerged from the Nanking incidents in their almost world-embracing ramifications, but it is safe to say now without much fear of contradiction, that the failure of the European Powers, particularly Great Britain, to bring about intervention in China, as a result of the Nanking events, really marks the passing of European influence in Eastern Asia. Nanking was the crucial test of European diplomatic effort in the affairs of Asia and Europe has failed. And with the passing of European influence, particularly British influence, there emerges from the smoke of the battle the growing influence of America, Russia, Japan and China, the nations, which due to geographical location, territorial extent, economic and human resources, are by right justly entitled to dominate the North Pacific area.

THE UNDERLYING reasons for these great and historic developments naturally predate the Nanking incidents of March 24 last: they really go back to the World War which left victors and vanquished so weakened and so beset with deep-seated war animosities, that the so-called European accord in respect to dealings with the 'backward' nations of the Orient, could no longer be invoked. During the course of the World War, Great Britain and France, in combination with Japan, forced Germany out of China. After the war Great Britain, with the assistance of France, Italy and the United States, forced Russia out of Europe and *into Asia*. America's brusque methods in settling the Japanese immigration and land-ownership questions in California and America's refusal to more than half-heartedly recognize the nationalist movement in China, certainly can be put down as contributory causes which forced Russia and Japan and China into treaty relationship. America is still not on speaking terms with Russia, but with Russian influence predominant in Asia as it is today, it naturally can be only a matter of time until America and Russia will come to an understanding on the question of recognition, for both nations need each other in the solutions of the vast problems of construction now pressing for solution in this quarter of the world. And before leaving this phase of the subject it is important that we should also recognize another significant development which has come since the Washiongton Conference: that is the growing friendly relationship and community of interest which has developed between the United States and Japan, in respect to their dealings with China.

NEWSPAPERMEN, in the course of their daily work, often write things, the true significance of which they fail to recognize. This has been particularly true in the accounts regarding the diplomatic tangle which has developed from the attempt of Great Britain to bring about intervention on the part of the Powers in respect to Nanking. Some of these reports are of particular interest in connection with the developments mentioned in the beginning of this discussion. On May 5, the Japanese *Toho* news agency in a dispatch from Peking stated that the British Government had given instructions to Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister in Peking, to the effect that there was to be no "second Note" on the Nanking outrages, since neither Japan nor America was agreeable to the inclusion of "sanctions." The same dispatch linked France and Italy with Britain in demanding "sanctions" which was not altogether correct since France has not been in agreement with Britain on this question at all as a report from Paris in last week's issue of *The Review* unmistakably indicated. Italy has been following Britain's lead even to the extent of placing Italian sailors out in the front 'defense' lines which the British military forces have drawn about Shanghai, but there are also unmistakable signs that Italy is rapidly growing nauseated as a result of the awkward position in which she has been placed as a result of blindly following the British lead. Still another interesting and significant report appeared in the *Japan Advertiser* recently from its London Correspondent, Mr. F. A. Mackenzie, who stated that the British Government was exerting strong pressure on Japan to bring about a coordination of policies in China, but that "Japan in view of America's refusal to participate in a policy of pressure was proceeding cautiously, and that the French Government, on account of the attitude of the United States, had decided to return to her former attitude of watchful waiting." Then finally, there was a report sent out by one of the Chinese news agencies from Peking which summed up the attitude of the Powers nicely, as the following from the *North China Star*, American paper in Tientsin, shows:

> Peking, April 26.—At 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon the Five powers convened to discuss the Nanking affair. It is learned that all have received instructions from their governments and indications are that the British, French, and Italian orders were of a strong nature. The Chinese press states that the American instructions were quite "peaceful" and "calm" while the Japanese was not particularly "strong." As the attitudes of the Five Powers are not identical there was a potential discord in the meeting, intimate the Peking Chinese papers.
>
> According to the present diplomatic situation in China, Italy is a perfect follower of England and Sir Miles Lampson is considered the most potent of all the foreign ministers in the capital. The Japanese minister, on the other hand, is merely the agent used here to carry out the orders of the Japanese Foreign Office. The American Minister is of the same type. Despite the fact that Mr. MacMurray, the American minister, was strong in his stand at former sessions, the policy of Washington has become different. It appears that the United States is willing to walk alone in this and not follow the opinion of the other Powers.

IT IS THEREFORE easy to see that it was American influence which was the deciding element when the Powers faced the crucial question of intervention in China, and it was President Calvin Coolidge who cast the deciding vote on the side of peace and conciliation. The President's remarks on this subject, which were delivered on the occasion of the annual dinner of the *United Press* in New York on April 25, follow:

'Our main difficulty here (in China) is the protection of the life and property of our citizens. Our citizens are being concentrated in ports where we can protect them and remove them. It is solely for this purpose that our warships and marines are in that territory.

"While this process was going on, the unfortunate incident arose at Nanking. One of our citizens was murdered, another was wounded and our Consulate was violated, and when the house in which our people had taken refuge was surrounded and they were actually under fire it became necessary for one of our ships and one of the British ships in the harbor to lay down a barrage to drive away the soldiers and the mob who were making the attack and to enable our citizens to reach a place of safety on our ships in the river. We presented

Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, who blocked the British War Office plans for armed intervention in China following the Nanking incidents.

with the other Powers who had suffered like attacks identic notes of protest to which a reply has been made which, although conciliatory in tone and to a certain degree responsive, leaves the final disposition of the issue a matter for further consideration by our Government."

Sympathy For China

After referring to the statement of the Secretary of State of January 27, and the proposal of this Government for excluding the International Settlement at Shanghai from the area of armed conflict, the President stated:

"The friendship of America for China has become proverbial. We feel for her the deepest sympathy in these times of her distress. We have no disposition to do otherwise than to assist and encourage every legitimate aspiration for freedom, for unity, for the cultivation of a national spirit, and the realization of a Republican form of government. In the turmoil and strife of the present time we realize fully that forces may be let loose temporarily beyond their power to control which may do injury to American nationals.

Guard Necessary

"It is to guard against that eventuality that our forces are in Chinese waters and to do what China itself would do if peace prevailed. We do not wish to pursue any course of aggression against the Chinese people. We are there to prevent aggression against our people by any of their disorderly elements. Ultimately the turmoil will quiet down and some form of authority will emerge which will no doubt be prepared to make adequate settlement for any wrongs we may have suffered. We shall, of course, maintain the dignity of our Government and insist upon proper respect being extended to our authority but our actions will at all times be those of a friend solicitous for the well being of the Chinese people."

THE AMERICAN newspapers generally supported President Coolidge, and his Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg's stand in opposition to the British scheme for intervention to China, one of the most significant editorial expressions on the subject being by the *New York World*, which was reported by the *United Press* as follows:

New York City, April 8—"All Americans who have any regard for the rights of other peoples will rejoice in the determination of President Coolidge, expressed in peremptory instructions to our military representatives in China, that the United States shall not be dragged into a war of selfish Powers to crush the nationalistic aspirations of the Chinese people," says the New York Evening World in a leading editorial.

"The tender solicitude for American interests expressed by the British Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Commons the other day indicates pretty clearly the way the wind blows. There is an effort to embroil us with other nations that have selfish interests to subserve against the nationalistic aspirations of the Chinese people, in a concerted military movement against the Nationalist army.

Scores Propaganda

"In support of this we are getting the usual propaganda stories of atrocities which are coming in. But having had experience with the propagandist's atrocities in Belgium and Russia we have come to take all such stories with a barrel of salt. The tearing of an American flag by a few war-crazed Chinese cannot persuade the American people that the American soldier should be sent to play the game of the European imperialists, who see in the tremendous rising of the nationalist spirit a grim determination of the Chinese to assert and maintain their sovereign rights. The average American of good principles is entirely in sympathy with Chinese aspirations.

Protection Only

"Our soldiers are on the ground to do just one thing—to protect the lives of Americans who follow the instructions and the advice of the American military authorities. They are not there to be used by nations with concessions to crush the proper hopes of China We

need no sympathy in the House of Commons. We are amply able to take care of ourselves, and we can do this without entering into a base imperialistic alliance to put back by force of bayonets the progress of China toward the reclamation of her sovereign rights."

Arthur Brisbane, chief editorial writer for the Hearst newspapers of the United States, also hit the nail on the head in an editorial which appeared in the *Los Angeles Examiner* on April 3:

Britain will do anything to maintain her property and prestige in China, because SHE MUST.

Three hundred million Asiatics, ruled by Britain in India, are watching China and asking themselves: "If 400,000,000 Asiatics can drive the British out of China, why can not we drive them out of India?"

Becauses her prestige in Asia and throughout the Empire requires it, Britain will do whatever she must to hold her position in trade and localized authority in China, under treaties long recognized. And the British War Department will bomb the Chinese, use all modern war methods, if argument fails.

But what about this country? There is no MUST for us. We have no empire in Asia staked on our ability to coerce China. Some big oil interests are involved, but those could be bought off for less than any little war would cost.

France and Japan show us what should be done. Japan will protest against actions of the Chinese mobs, but use no force. That is the latest announcement. France will look on, let Britain attend to China with the help of this country, if we are fools enough to create a serious quarrel with an unfortunate country, torn by revolution and civil war.

We are friendly to Great Britain, and should like to cooperate with the British in maintaining world peace, but we are, let us hope, not going to start a Chinese war to solidify British prestige in India.

Britain has great influence here. Our biggest international banking institution, as much British as it is American, and owing the revival of its fortunes to England and the big war, has great influence with our national Administration.

Millions of Americans that would pay the bills, business men of this country whose prosperity unnecessary war would menace, are interested in this Chinese question.

In the big war we pulled chestnuts out of the fire for all Europe, to the tune of ten billions sent abroad and fifty billions spent, squandered and grafted at home.

Are we going to spend more billions, kill more men, because Britain needs to beat China, to preserve her Asiatic prestige and Indian empire?

The British Government, it is said, urging this country to join in coercing China, "finds our attitude disappointingly vague." Let's hope our attitude will become definite and take this form:

No, thanks, we are not professional, incurable Chestnut Pullers. We intend to protect our own citizens, by taking them out of China. Then we shall leave China to the Chinese, as we keep America for Americans. If our British Brothers feel that they must have a Chinese War, that is their affair. We shall neither share it nor finance it.

AND WHILE on this subject of American opinion in respect to present conditions in China, we do not wish to overlook Mr. Silas H. Strawn who was the American delegate to the China Tariff Conference in Peking and also America's chief representative on the Commission which investigated the subject of Extraterritoriality. Owing to propaganda spread by the Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, Mr. Strawn has been placed in the false position of being in opposition to China's Nationalist aspirations. Now, however, we are glad to read a report also by the *United Press* which serves to place Mr. Strawn's position in proper light. The report, which appeared in the *North China Star*, under a Washington date line was as follow.

Chinese nationalistic aspirations are recognized by Silas H. Strawn, United States Commissioner on the Extraterritoriality Commission, in a statement contributed to the Chinese Students' Monthly.

"I know that there are many Chinese students and sincere patriotic Chinese people who are trying to evolve a new China and to inculcate a national spirit. I am in entire sympathy with that ambition and think it should be encouraged by every friend of China," he declares, in part.

"The attitude of the United States toward China is now and always has been helpful and sympathetic. We have no concessions in China and have never manifested any imperialistic attitude toward China. Whatever may have been their attitude in the past, during my eleven months' residence in China I saw no present indication of a desire on the part of any of the Powers to aggress upon China, territorially or otherwise. The representatives of the several Powers with whom I was in daily contact seemed actuated by no other purpose or desire than to do everything they could to help China.

"I have said on several occasions that I thought the present troubles of China were internal rather than external, and that the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling now obtaining in some parts of China is the result of persistent agitation and propaganda intended to excite the Chinese people into a continuous state of unrest.

Praises Chinese

"For myself, I experienced no anti-foreign feeling. For many of the Chinese gentlemen with whom I worked I have only the highest admiration and respect, and an affectionate regard. No one can visit China and see the patient, frugal, peaceful Chinese farmers and coolies without having an admiration and sympathy for them.

"At the same time, one cannot help but deplore the situation wrought by the militarists and denounce what they are doing continuously to enslave and impoverish the Chinese people."

AS A FINAL chapter to the story of intervention, we reprint the following dispatch from Paris which was distributed to the local press by *Reuters* on Sunday, May 8:

According to the Washington newspapers, owing to the United States Government's decision not to send a second Note to the Nationalist authorities on the subject of the Nanking outrages, the other Powers have decided not to act without the participation of the United States.

It is believed that Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan have accepted the American point of view, which opposes sanctions.—French wireless through Reuter.

WHAT THE BRITISH OUGHT TO DO NOW!

IT SHOULD now be fairly clear to most persons of intelligence that the Chinese have won their major victory on the question of the treaties. The Japanese and Belgians are already engaged in negotiating new treaties with China on an equal or mutually satisfactory basis and it is only a matter of time until the other nations having unilateral or 'unequal' treaties will be forced to accept the inevitable. Therefore, why wait for the inevitable? Why wait until the Chinese force the issue by abrogating the old treaties? The nation we have particularly in mind is Great Britain. It is only the 'die-hard' Briton in Shanghai who still believes that his country will yet come to his rescue and re-establish old time conditions in China. The British people at home and in the Dominions want peace with China and Sir Austen Chamberlain, Premier, undoubtedly wants peace. The well-intentioned people at home in England have constantly been handicapped by their kinsmen in China in coming to an understanding with the Chinese people. But the 'diehards' in China have now had their fling and have failed abjectly in their efforts to force their country into a useless and criminal war with China. Therefore, there is no further reason for delay, for as indicated elsewhere in this issue of *The Review* it is now pretty definitely established that neither America, Japan nor France are coming in and Britain, for obvious reasons, is not coming in alone. By listening to the British residents of China Great Britain has lost much of the good will Britons formerly enjoyed in China. There is just one way to regain this good will! RENOUNCE THE OLD TREATIES AND START OUT ON A NEW BASIS! Britain made a bold stroke for intervention by sending an army to China, hoping in

that way to frighten the rest of the world into a similar policy. But the scheme failed and in the eyes of China and the rest of the world, Britain has lost much face. There is just one way to regain the lost prestige: MAKE AN EQUALLY BOLD GESTURE IN THE OTHER DIRECTION! British residents of Shanghai can always boast that their troops 'saved' the city. Nobody will begrudge them that honor and it is quite possible that if the British would do the right thing now and renounce the old treaties without equivocation and also make a flat offer granting the Chinese demands in respect to Shanghai, that the Chinese might permit the British troops to remain here for a while until China gets her house in order and is able to guarantee peace herself.

WHAT THE FOREIGN TROOPS ARE HERE FOR

FOREIGN RESIDENTS in China, and Shanghai particularly, are very apt to confuse two entirely separate matters. Many people seem to harbor the idea that the foreign armed forces are here to maintain the status quo so far as the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners are concerned and possibly even to exact still further concessions. The best indication that such is not the purpose of the foreign armed forces here is that Great Britain —which above all other countries would be most tempted to insist on the maintenance of the status quo—is right now negotiating for Chinese participation, yes even predominance, in the control of the British Concession at Tientsin. What the foreign troops are here for is merely to protect foreign lives and property—not as an intimation to the Chinese that their requests for the abrogation of special privilegese held by foreigners are to fall on deaf ears. It has been the policy of most foreign newspapers in China to tickle the prejudices of their readers, the majority of whom are naturally foreigners, by holding out false hopes as to the continuance of the special privileges, enforcing this attitude by ridiculing Chinese aspirations, and using the expression "betrayal" whenever the accredited representatives of the foreign powers have acceded to some curtailment of age-long privilege. All that *The Review* has done is to set forth the situation as it really is. It has been unwilling to adopt a policy of making its foreign readers believe that the best attitude of foreigners, and particularly American, is to exhibit a spirit of hostility to Chinese aspirations. Such an attitude is bound to end in great disillusionment. No doubt all of us would like to see a continuance of these special privileges—that is from a purely selfish point of view. But times are changing, and foreigners in China must change with them. Too many foreign residents in China are like the ostrich which, when a storm approaches, buries its head in the sand. To let the Chinese have what they want may be in some ways a dangerous experiment. It might even be like the spoiled child who was prevented from getting what he wanted, when the mother, on hearing a howl, peremptorily ordered the nurse to "let him have what he wants." "He's got it ma'am", demurely replied the nurse. "It's a wasp!" But one thing is certain: To give the Chinese what they want will prevent them from using the excuse that their troubles are due to the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners. And be it remembered that so far, when the Chinese have been thwarted in some aspiration by reason of some technicality, they have attained their aims by roundabout methods. Take, for example, the customs surtaxes.

THE VOICE OF LABOR IN CHINA.

THE GOOD Book says the laborer is worthy of his hire. Events during the past few years have demonstrated that the laborer in China has come to a realization of the fact that the conditions under which he has been living compare very unfavorably with those obtaining in many other countries, particularly in the West, and he has therefore become obstreperous. That his discontent has been fanned by Soviet instigation is merely incidental—the basic fact remains that the Chinese laborer wants to live better than he has up unfil this time and the only way he can accomplish this is to secure more wages. Like many another movement with a good purpose the labor movement in China has frequently got into evil hands and when the laborers began to arm wholesale, not so much with the idea of demanding better wages from employers at the point of the pistol as with the idea of intimidating their fellow workers, there was bound to be an explosion. Now, what is a fair wage? That is a problem to which the Bureau of Markets of the Ministry of Finance, situated in Shanghai, is devoting itself. The Bureau is sending out pamphlets to employers and factory owners with the idea of securing data as to what wages are being paid. Investigations are also being made as to the cost of living. As the Bureau in its circular points out the livelihood of laborers depends not so much on the amount of wages which one obtains as upon their value in an exchange for commodities. The work of the Bureau of Markets is, of course, to be commended. But the real thing that affects the problem is the realization by the workers of their comparatively poor standard of living and their determination to improve it.

DR. TA CHEN, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tsing Hua College, Peking, has contributed to a recent issue of the *International Labor Review*, Geneva, a detailed analysis of the Labor movement in China. He points out that the principal social forces which have aided the cause of labor are the student movement, the literary renaissance and the emancipation of women. The workers have developed a group consciousness and, taking the standpoint that their services are indispensible to the well-being of the community, they now demand that society recognize their social rights. "A significant factor affecting labor conditions," says Dr. Ta Chen, "is the gradual decrease of the contract labor system in China. Up to very recently, foreign firms (and to a lesser extent, Chinese firms), on account of unfamiliarity with the Chinese language and difficulties in knowing the habits and idiosyncracies of the Chinese, have relied mainly upon the contractor for labor. The foreign company paid the contractor who in turn paid his men. The managent frequently used no payrolls and kept no records of its labor force. This practice has been found unsatisfactory for both employers and men. The workers suffered chiefly from the unfair practices of the contractor, including underpayment and inhumane treatment; the employers also considered it unsatisfactory, because the workers found it difficult to submit complaints to the company for redress and for the maintenance of just relations between the two parties, and the chasm between the management and the men was thus rendered unduly deep. Under this system labor turnover was usually high. To-day, although the practice still exists to a considerable extent, it is slowly decreasing in importance, and this among both foreign and Chinese employers."

COMPANIONS IN THE REVOLT OF ASIA

THE OLD SAYING that the situation always produces the man, might well be amended to say that the situation also produces the book. What we have in mind is the most excellent and timely book, "The Revolt of Asia," by Upton Close (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York) copies of which have just reached the Far East. Mr. Close, whose real name is Josef Washington Hall, is lecturer on Pacific Asian Life and Politics at the University of Washington, Seattle, and the new book by his pen is the result of a trip through China and the Orient, including the Near East, which the author has just completed. Mr. Hall cannot be accused of superficial knowledge for he resided for many years in China, speaks the Chinese language, and knows what he is writing about. In last week's issue of *The Review* there was published an extensive review of Mr. Hall's book, which was reprinted from a recent issue of the *New York Times*, but there are certain passages which are of particular interest owing to their bearing on the present situation. One particular chapter that strikes our attention at this time deals with the subject of Russian participation in the so-called "Revolt of Asia." To quote from the book, "Undoubtedly, Russia has a hand in every malcontent movement in Asia. .....her new Asiatic alignment, born out of the great war, has forced her to seek a defensive balance against the west by playing a wholly new role: that of conciliator of Asiatic states along her vast borders and instigator of revolt among all peoples seeking to throw off a political and economic domination that Russian agents have taught Asia to call imperialism. Russia now has amicable treaties and full diplomatic standing with China, Turkey and Japan; she has a friendly footing with Persia and Afghanistan. Her influence is profoundly felt in India, Burma, Mongolia and Tibet, and reaches even to the Dutch East Indies as demonstrated in the ominous 'communist' uprisings in Sumatra and Java."

MUCH HAS been written in explanation of Russia's new alignment with the East, but we have yet to see anything that approaches Mr. Hall's insight. In many ways he was in a favorable position to observe the beginnings of the development for Mr. Hall was in Peking when Russia made her first advances toward China; in fact he was editor of a newspaper in Peking when the first telegram came through from Moscow offering to surrender to China every special privilege enjoyed by Russians in China and to withdraw without compensation from every territorial and economic concession extracted from China by the old regime. "I shall never forget," says Mr. Hall "the mingled attitude of delight, incredulity and suspicion with which it was perused by Chinese officials. The American, British and French diplomatic representatives immediately warned China that Russia was not a nation with which one could have any dealings—that this must be a trap." As a result of the Powers' opposition, China didn't reply to the Russian overtures, but she did later on and a treaty resulted. Mr. Hall then tells of the meeting between AbrahamAdolph Joffe, Soviet commissioner, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang leader, here in Shanghai when the original compact was made for Soviet assistance to the Kuomintang. It is of interest to quote some of Mr. Hall's paragraphs, one of which is entitled, "A Fraternity of the Snubbed," wherein he states, "Social feeling is a further and very strong factor sending Russia with a proffered hand to the Asian peoples today. Let us fall back on that favorite explanation of conduct of the modern psychologists: inferiority complex. Russians, ostracized out of Europe for political and economical reasons and out of America for puritanical reasons as well, find a mental kinship with Japanese suffering from snubs to their racial pride administered by the United States and British Dominions, or Indians openly regarded by their rulers as an inferior race, or Filipinos told that they are not out of their age of tutelage. The same instinct which brought the French revolutionists, regarded as untouchable king-killers by the aristocratic contemporary world, to the sentimental championship of every under-people within their ken, operates today in Russia . . . the Soviet has proceeded steadily with its program to inspire and assist half the members of the human race to the mastery of their own destiny. Approve it or not—it is the most portentous piece of enlightened international philanthropy since France helped to make America a nation . . . Today rulers who more truly represent the Russian mind than did the old rulers of Russia, are leading their nation back to Asia. Europe has driven Russia into the Asiatic world. She brings to it a political and social influence militantly European, which mingles with the very Asian 'live and let live' quality of her 'new imperialism.' Russia's revision of the rules of the international game and change of partners creates the most dangerous crisis in their history for the Western Powers."

Recovery of the American Flags at the Nanking Consulate

Aleko E. Lilius, American, representing the *Paramount News*, New York, and Henk Alsen, Netherlands subject, representing *Fox News*, also of New York, brought back from Nanking last week the two flags of the American Consulate in that city which were taken down and more or less desecrated by the soldiers which looted the American Consulate in Nanking on March 24 last.

One flag, which was used by the Consulate on holiday occasions had been taken from the storehouse at the Consulate on the day of the raid and was being used as a sort of bed covering by some Cantonese soldiers in a building near the consular compound. This flag was rescued by Mr. Alsen and has been turned over to U. S. S. Pittsburg at Shanghai.

The other flag which was badly treated was rescued from its rather ignominous position on the ground at the foot of the flagpole, by Mr. Lilius of the *Paramount News* and has been turned over to the American Consulate-General here at Shanghai. The picture of the flag, or what is left of it, which is shown herewith, is being held by Miss Shannon Davis, daughter of John K. Davis, American Consul and Mrs. Davis of Nanking.

According to the report, the soldiers which invaded the American consular premises in Nanking on March 24, lowered the flag, and apparently held a tug-of-war with it, following which they threw the remains on the ground at the foot of the pole and it remained there until Mr. Lilius rescued it and brought it to Shanghai.

Was the Soviet Plotting to Make All China Red ?

BY CHARLES DAILEY

Editor's Note: The suggestion was made in an editorial from The London Times cabled to the Far East last week by Reuters that the long delay in making public the documents alleged to have been seized in the Soviet Embassy by Marshal Chang Tso-ling, has given the impression that the documents which have been made public may have been faked, or at least have been altered materially by Chang's agents in the translation process. The Mukden Warlod naturally is anxious to make out a good case in justification of his action in raiding the Soviet Embassy quarters. The New York Times published a dispatch from Washington on April 8 which quoted a statement from Mr. John Van A. MacMurray, American Minister at Peking, to the effect that Chang Tso-ling had clearly violated his instructions in searching and looting the quarters of the Soviet Military Attache. Mr. MacMurray's report to the State Department stated that Chang was given permission by the Senior Minister, Mr. Oudendijk, to search the premises of the Dal Bank and the Chinese Eastern Railway only, which are located adjacent to the Embassy proper, but that Chang violated the instructions and also raided the offices of the old Russian legation guard and the quarters of the Military Attache. The report from the State Department in the New York Times said that it was not known whether Mr. Oudendijk had consulted his colleagues when he granted Chang Tso-ling permission to enter the Legation Quarter.

POSITIVE and documentary evidence alleging that Soviet Russia and the Third Internationale of the Communist Party are behind the so-called Nationalist movement in China was believed to have been obtained as a result of the raid on the premises of the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6. In fact so overwhelming was the proof that within a week, and without waiting for dismissal by the Peking government, the Charge d'Affaires Mr. Chernyk, with all the Embassy staff and excepting only the Consular officials, departed for Moscow, having been recalled by the Soviet government as a protest against the invasion of the Embassy premises.

On the day after the raid in Peking the premises of the Dalbank, the Chinese Eastern railway offices and other Soviet business activities in Tientsin were searched and such documents as seemed to support the theory of a plot against the Peking government were carried away, while on the same day also the premises of the Soviet Consulate-General in Shanghai were surrounded and persons entering or departing were subjected to questioning and search by the authorities of the International Settlement.

As a result of evidence obtained in the documents twenty-four of the Chinese Communists arrested when the raid was made were put to death on the afternoon of April 29, chiefly by strangulation, after a drumhead court martial, the victims including Li Ta-Chao, head of the Chinese Communist Party; Miss Chang Yen-Lan chief of the women's division of the Communists; Yao Yen, Tan Tsu-Yao, Teng Wen-Hui, Hsieh Po-Yu, Mou Tung-Yung, Chang Po-Hua, Li Ning-Lien, Yang Ching-Shan; Fau Hung-Chi, Hsieh Cheng-Chang, Lu Yu-Yu, Ying Hua, Chang Yen-Liang, Yen Chen-Shan, Li Kun, Wu Pin-Ti, Tao Yung-Li, Cheng Pai-Ming and Fang Po-Wu.

Chancery Not Entered

The chancery and the house occupied so long by the Soviet Ambassador Kharahan were not entered, but only that western portion of the Embassy compound occupied by the Dalbank, the Chinese Eastern railway, the now vacated Russian barracks and various other buildings used as Soviet offices and schools, including the office of the Military Attache, in which latter most of the damaging evidence was found. The Military Attache made a desperate effort to burn the papers in his office and did succeed in destroying some of them, but the fire brigade of the Legation Quarter was soon on the ground, and mounting the roof played a hose down the flue of a chimney and thus drenched the documents which had been tossed into a stove and set afire.

It developed later that the intention had been not to violate the office of the Military Attache, but his eagerness to destroy by fire the records kept there drew attention to it. The original idea appears to have been to obtain proof of the Communist plot and to arrest the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, who were living in the enclosure of the Soviet Embassy and were plotting there for the seizure of the government in Peking in the interests of the Communist wing of the Kuomintang.

One of the immediate effects of the raid—al least outwardly—was the desertion of Eugene Chen, Borodin and others of the Hankow government by Chiang Kai-Shek, the generalissimo, and the setting up by him of a moderate government at Nanking. How much of this is camouflage to mislead the foreign powers in their stand with reference to the outrages committed at Nanking is yet to be proved by events, but that the Communist wing of the party is much disconcerted is evidenced by the dismissal of Chiang by the radicals at Hankow and the ordering of an expedition against him.

Creates Panic Among Radicals

Yet on the other hand there exists as a result of the raid and its exposures a state of panic among the Hankow radicals with the Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, fearful of his own personal safety, endeavoring to make hostages of the foreigners—and especially Americans—who remain in Hankow by urging them to remain and carry on business while at the same time threatening them with the statement that the Nationalist government will not be responsible for damage done to foreign property left behind after their departure.

The raid on the Embassy premises was conducted with great secrecy and was made with dramatic suddenness. It was accomplished by troops of Chang Tso-Lin, chiefly recruited from his bodyguard, and by police who were carefully and secretly chosen. The doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, M. Oudendijk, after being consulted by some of the interested Powers gave permission for the forcible entry. The American and British Legations seem to have been aware of the raid and the hour set, for at that time the troops of these two Powers were in readiness within their own compounds in the event disorders occurred through resistance to the unannounced appearance of the Chinese troops and police. The guards of the others Powers having troops in the Legation Guard—Japan, France and Italy—seem to have been in utter ignorance. Whether their ministers were or not informed is a matter for them to say. At any event it was deemed wisest to keep the raid as secret as possible lest some of the guilty escape or resist through violent means.

First Violation of Boxer Protocol

Invasion of the Legation Quarter by Chinese troops and police is of itself the first instance of a violation of the Boxer protocol of 1901 and as far as can be learned the first time such a request has been made, or suggested, as the case may be. Heretofore, when there existed in the Legation Quarter a refugee whom the Chinese police sought or when there were violations of the Quarter regulations of any kind, it had been the custom of the Legation Quarter police to make the arrests and hand the culprits over to the Chinese police for trial, except only it be a foreigner protected by the extraterritorial rights.

But in the case of Soviet Russia it was different. Russia no longer enjoys extraterritorial rights and no longer participates in the armed guard under the Boxer protocol. Germany and Austria-Hungary also have lost their status. For the general defense of the Legation quarter the troops are of the same five Powers that joined in the identic notes to the Hankow government, being in alphabetical order America, Britain, France, Italy and Japan. For the defense of the Quarter these five have apportioned the wall of the Legation quarter. The Americans have taken over that part of the western glacis formerly held by the Russians up to where they join the line held by the British. The Italians join the British and these in turn join the Japanese on the old Austro-Hungarian part of the wall and the Japanese link up on the east wall with the French, who join the Americans at the Tartar Wall, the southern boundary of the Legation quarter.

Karakhan's Protest Last Year

About a year or so ago, when this realignment was made owing to the student activities in Peking, the Russian Ambassador Karakhan protested American use of the Russian glacis, but was overruled by precedent and treaty and subsided. It was regarded as a settled fact that the Americans should defend the Russian wall in the event of troubles or an attack upon the Legation Quarter and everyone took this for granted until the raid occurred. But the Chinese themselves seemed to think differently, for although the raid on the Russian Embassy grounds occurred April 6 the Chinese police were still in possession of the Russian barracks and other western portions of the Embassy compound as late as April 21.

On that day, following a meeting of the commandants of the Legation Guard, a composite column of 25 men, headed by Major Price of the American Marine guard, proceeded at noon to the west gate, and finding it locked and barricaded, sent a detail of American Marines over the wall to force the gate from the inside and admitted the five-power guard,

which now holds the wall and patiently awaits the withdrawal of the Chinese police. The Chinese government appears to resent this and it has been intimated that it will notify the Boxer Protocol Powers that it has taken over the responsibility of looking after the premises of the Russian Embassy and will ask the withdrawal of the foreign guard. It seems certain that this request, if made, will be refused, for if it is granted then Chinese police also could police the ex-Austrian wall and thus the united defense of the Legation Quarter by the protocol powers would be destroyed.

But this is only one of the incidents resulting from the raid. The most important, and the one for which the Chinese people as a whole should feel grateful, is the discovery of the Bolshevist-aided plot for the Communizing of China, which is shown by papers already translated incriminating Ambassador Karakhan and others of the Moscow government.

Hard to Translate

Not all of the papers seized have been published. As they are in Russian, they must first be translated into Chinese and the Chinese have only a limited number of translators who are thoroughly conversant with the Russian language. It is not certain whether the payroll of the Embassy has been obtained or whether it was in the Embassy building proper and carried off to Moscow with other important documents at the time of the departure of the Embassy staff. It is currently believed, however, that in addition to the Chinese a number of foreigners under the protection of the protocol powers also were in the pay of the Soviet.

The seizure of the documents has revealed the widespread membership in the Communist wing of the Kuomintang of many American returned students as well as large numbers of students of the American missionary or American endowed schools in Peking. There were, for instance, seventy names of students of Yenching University on the list according to substantial reports, and also many from Chinghua and like schools. In fact, the ramifications of the plot are likely to prove even more widespread when all the facts are known, although many of the student members are doubtless tools in the hands of the clever leaders.

While many of the documents seized date from the time when Marshal Feng Yu-Hsiang held Peking in 1925 and the earlier part of 1926, proving conclusively Feng's connection with the revolution even before his visit to Moscow, there are also vast numbers of very recent date, and in the latter the drift to Chinese Communism is even more pronounced. The First, Second and Third Kuominchun were financed by Moscow through the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

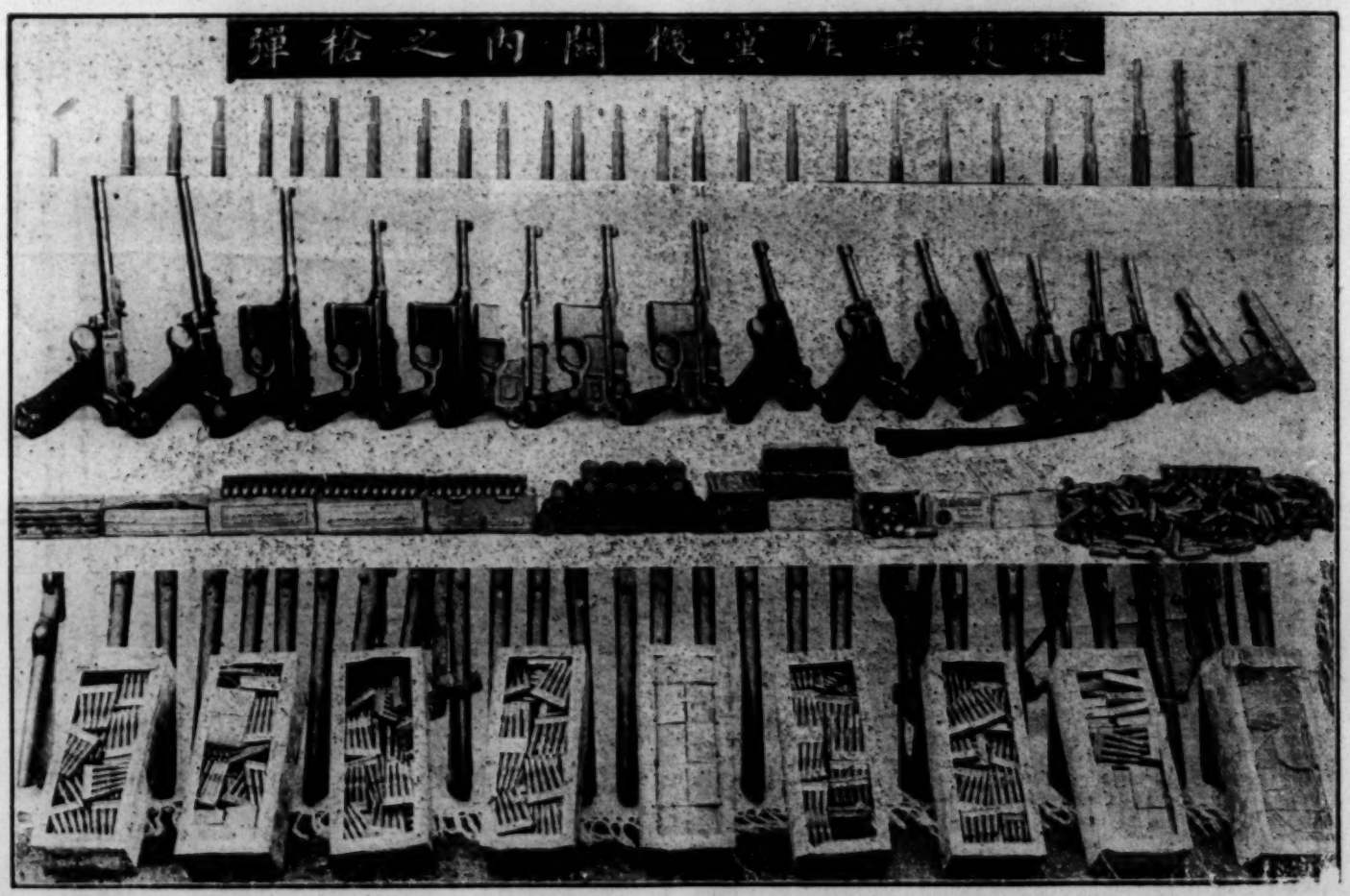
Through the discovery of seals, which are shown on one of the accompanying photographs, Soviet form of government was proposed in the various provinces and the special areas such as Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, in Kansu and Sinkiang as well as all parts of Inner Mongolia. Outer Mongolia already has been organized and a Buriat Soviet Republic established as well.

Much Ammunition Found

Arms in plenty, together with ammunition, also were seized, and the most important was an air rifle of high power. This dangerous silent weapon, of which others are believed to be in the hands of the fighting Kuominchun and the armies of the Kuomintang, are most effective and chiefly used by snipers from windows and other places of secretion. When I was caught in the lines of the armies between Pagoda Hill and the eastern wall of Wuchang during the siege last October a rain of bullets fell about me, yet there was not the sound of a shot. I picked up some of these bullets and brought them with me when I left Hankow in late January, and since the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking I am convinced that these came from air rifles. They are not explosive, but of soft round lead, about a quarter of an inch in diameter and upon impact with the body would flatten out and make a more dangerous and tearing wound than the usual steel-pointed bullet, which makes a clean hole at the point of contact.

Included in the seizures also were the lists of the membership of the Kuomintang (supposedly Communist faction) in Peking and the arrest prior to the raid of a messenger from the Embassy led to obtaining the names of the various chairmen in the capital. It was, in fact, the discovery of the names in this chit-book that led the office of Chang Tso-lin to realize how thoroughly Peking was undermined for a revolution in behalf of the proletariat. As far as can be learned no extensive arrests have been made except of those caught in the Embassy premises at the time of the raid, but the addresses of hundreds of sympathizers if not actual members have been obtained and many of them are being shadowed by detectives.

There were found also many thousand copies of incendiary posters, leaflets and other propaganda common to the Kuomintang, together with banners and streamers and hundreds of the red flag of the Chinese radicalists. It was



Some of the rifles, pistols and other ammunition found in the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6. Among the rifles was said to be several high-power air rifles, capable of shooting a considerable distance without making any loud report.

discovered also that there was a printing office on the premises, as well as the schools in which the converts to Chinese Communism were lectured by the Soviet agents and prepared for the day when the cities of North China should be seized and the soapboxers and other familiar sights of Canton, Changsha and Hankow should mark the advent of the revolution and the rule of the proletariat.

Most Important Documents

Perhaps the most important documents found as a result of the raid were those in the office of the Military Attache of the Soviet Embassy and which from the basis of China's case against Russia. If Moscow had not recalled her diplomatic officials and attaches the revelations contained in these documents probably would have caused the Chinese government to have handed passports to the Charge d'Affaires and his staff. These show conclusively Russian connection with the Communist wing of the Kuomintang, and show also that espionage was carried on in numerous provinces not already controlled by the Hankow Nationalists, and especially Honan, where the armies of Chang Tso-lin have had such a bitter struggle.

The evidence that the Soviet government was party to the plan to incite the Kuomintang to anti-foreign violence includes the resolutions and instructions of the Third Internationale, held recently in Moscow, relative to the creation of a condition which would be helpful in carrying out a plan of world revolution of the proletariat. When the raid on the Russian barracks end of the Embassy began a large number of confidential papers in the office of the Soviet Military attache were tossed hurriedly into a stove and set afire. The fire brigade of the Legation Quarter saved most of these papers from destruction.

One in particular was only partly burned, although a vital section is virtually illegible. This document of the resolutions of the Third Internationale apparently had been forwarded from Moscow as intructions to the Military Attache. The text of the translation of the unburned portion of this document follows:

(1) All efforts for the moment should be directed to the development of the special characteristics of the Chinese Nationalist movement. In order to realize this object, the Kuomintang must be recognized as the only independent party of the Chinese people. All Kuomintang propaganda must exploit to the full the Hankow incident (January, 1927) and the attitude of the British government toward this question. For in the first place the Hankow affair proves that the nationalist movement of the Kuomintang has achieved remarkable progress. Secondly, it shows that the resistance of the European powers to the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese masses is clearly waning.

(2) No effort should be spared to create anti-European disturbances and chaos in all districts occupied by the troops of Chang Tso-lin.

(3) The authority and prestige of Marshal Chang Tso-lin must be destroyed at all cost. Anti-Chang Tso-lin propaganda must be built on the thesis that he is hired by Imperialists and international capitalists to obstruct the nationalist movement of the Kuomintang.

(4) This part of the document was badly damaged by fire and many parts of it are indecipherable. It refers to plans to stir up trouble against the European powers and the campaign of attack upon Great Britain.

(5) Plans must be devised to incite the Chinese masses to anti-foreign acts. In order to attain this object, everything possible must be done to bring the masses and the troops of the various foreign powers into armed conflict. The ultimate goal is foreign intervention, and to realize this looting and massacre of foreigners may be resorted to. Whenever a clash occurs between Chinese crowds and foreign troops, no opportunity should be lost to exploit the incident to the full so as to further inflame the minds of the people against the foreigners.

(6) For the present, do not bother about the immediate enforcement of Communism in China, for this would only serve to strengthen the position of Chang Tso-lin and further increase the dissension in the Kuomintang camp. We have issued instructions to M. ordering him to call a halt to all extreme actions against capitalists. Before the overthrow of Chang Tso-lin it is advisable even to maintain the class distinctions in the Kuomintang. Also no harm must be done to the capitalist class.

(7) While prosecuting the anti-European movement it is essential to emphasize the disharmony among the Powers. Since Japan can send troops to China within a very brief period, it is particularly important to prevent her from taking joint action with the other Powers. In order to accomplish this object, all movements in various parts of the country must be so conducted as not to jeopardize the property and lives of Japanese residents. It is true that, the exclusion of Japan from anti-foreign movements often arouses unpleasant feelings but in order to avoid this the slogan of these movements must be anti-British.

The concluding paragraph of the instructions states that the military should lose no time in forwarding them to the various branches and leaders of the Communist party.

Proof of Gallen's Connection

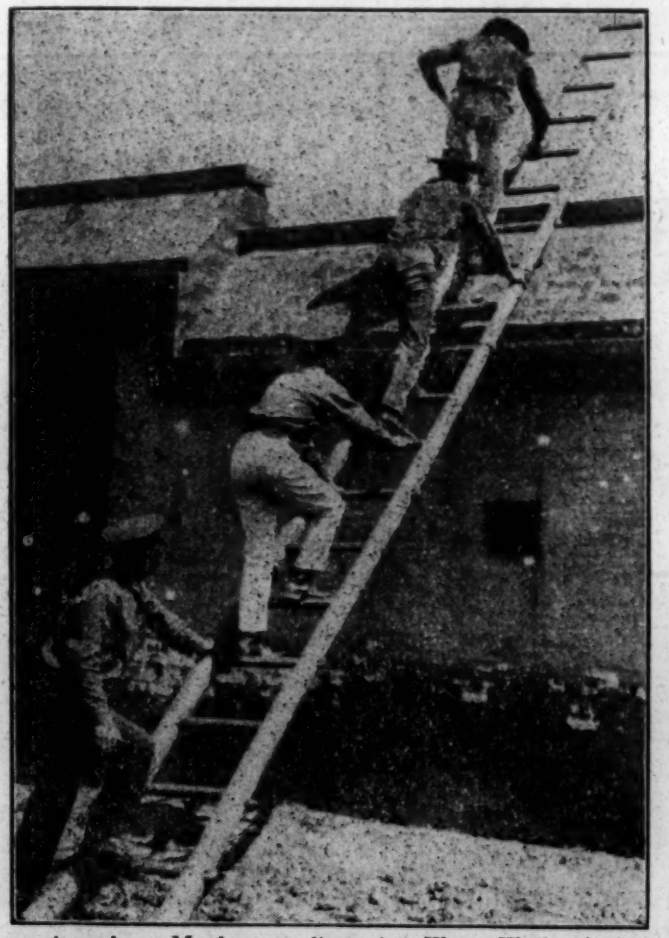
Although Rykoff at the All-Union Congress of Soviets held in Moscow April 18 in making his report for the Soviet government of Russia asserted that General Gallen, the Soviet military attache and adviser to the Nationalist armies, is by no means the representative of the Soviet government and has no appointment from it documents seized in the Embassy raid reveal the contrary. One of these is a letter, marked confidential, which shows that he is in Soviet pay. This letter, written February 22, 1927, by the treasurer of the Peking Embassy reads:

To General Gallen: The Embassy courier has sent to you G$13,324 in payment of your salary for January and February. As regards your salary for March, it will be forwarded to you by the next courier. On January 15 this Embassy issued $10,000 to the family of M. Borodin, and an additional allowance of $100 (?$,1-000). We have just received a letter from M. Borodin saying that you detained this sum. Is it true?

A further letter furnishes proof that Borodin also was in the direct pay of the Soviet. This letter also was sent to Borodin February 22, and the translation reads:

Enclosed you will find our report on the establishment of a military academy. Please pass it on to General Gallen as soon as you have perused it.

We advise you that the central headquarters (presumably referring to the Moscow government) hopes for an early settlement of the ledger for last November, the central headquarters forwarded supplies to the Nationalist government valued at $1,100,000, and this with other supplies made on your order totals $1,500,-000. Last October you remitted $310,000 for (?the



American Marines scaling the West Wall of the Russian Embassy in Peking when the Protocol Powers occupied it as a defense measure. Once inside they forced open the gate for the troops of the five Powers to enter.

account of) the Soviet government. The general headquarters hopes that the balance will be paid as soon as possible and proposes that $300,000 be paid each month until the conclusion of the hostilities, when $500,000 should be paid. The general headquarters takes the view that if you are unable to pay they will stop further supplies to the Nationalist government.

Proof of Soviet Financing

Definite proof also that the Nationalist armies were financed by the Russian Soviet government also is established by written instructions which the Moscow government forwarded to M. Borodin about a year ago, when the Nationalists were still in Canton and had not fully prepared for the Northern campaign. A translation of these instructions follows:

(1) For the purpose of directing military affairs in Kwangtung province a military commission should be established.

(2) The military commission shall settle all questions involving us (the Moscow government) in that part of the country, such as the pay of the Chinese troops, the distribution of arms and munitions, and the allotment of liason men between the commission and the Chinese troops. The orders of the commission shall be executed by the chief of the military department.

(3) Soviet political advisers shall be allowed to participate in the commission. They are allowed to direct the policy of the military department in accordance with their political observations.

(4) To facilitate the conduct of military affairs, the orders of the military department should be obeyed. The military department should nominate a man as its chairman.

(5) The chief of the military department should be concurrently chief of staff to the headquarters of the Chinese army. He should also be a member of the Chinese military commission.

(6) The chief of the military department represents the department in its dealing with the Chinese, and at the same time executes the decisions of the military commission.

(7) All Russian military officers in Kwangtung should be subject to the control of the chief of the military department. Political affairs should be handled by political advisers.

(8) A general staff should be established and attached to the military department to take charge of all our military and political affairs in Kwangtung.

Japanese, British, French and Italian Marines waiting on the Russian glacis until the American Marines forced open the gate of the Russian Embassy compound.

Major Price and American Marines leading the column of Allied forces who occupied the West Wall of the Russian Embassy in Peking as a defense measure, following the raid on the Russian Embassy by Chang Tso-ling's forces. Chang for a time refused to remove his troops from the Legation quarter and demanded the right to police the area.

Leaders of the alleged Chinese communists arrested in the Chang Tso-ling raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6 and since executed by strangulation. Those in the picture are (left to right) Lu Yu-yi, Li Ta-chao and Miss Chao I-lun.

(9) The chief of staff should become a member of the military commission, participate in its deliberations and have the right to vote.

Another document had to do with a report based on the seventh plenary session of the Third Internationale in Moscow and sent to the Soviet Embassy in Peking. The copy of this document found among the water-soaked and partly burned mass of papers found in the office of the Military Attache was signed by his assistant. It dealt entirely with the problem of China and the foreign powers. The measures therein devised for the destruction of the "imperialiastic influences" in China consisted of the following steps:

(1) Point out to the Chinese masses the danger of the despatch of troops to China by the Powers. Supply the anti-imperialistic military leaders in China with money and munitions.

(2) Urge the Chinese masses to demand the withdrawal of the foreign troops and gunboats from China and from Chinese territorial seas.

(4) A campaign of propaganda should be started among the members of the foreign armies and navies in China.

(4) Work for the recognition of the Cantonese government.

These points should be explained and stressed upon in course of public demonstrations and mass meetings.

System of Espionage

There was reference also to a system of espionage by the Chinese independent of that of Soviet Russia. This was in connection with the employment by M. Ivanoff, Chinese secretary of the Embassy, of Chang Pei-Hua, Li Shih-Tang and Yao Yu-Kwan to make reports on the happenings in the various Legations in Peking, and particularly the Japanese Legation.

One of the documents seized supplied evidence that it was Soviet Russia and not China that caused the non-continuation of the Sino-Russian Conference, in which Dr. C. T. Wang (Wang Cheng-Ting) and Ambassador Karakhan were the delegates. This letter was written December 30 1926, by Korobin, acting Soviet Commercial Attache, and addressed to Negasky, Vice Commissar of Commerce, in Moscow. At this time Dr. Wang had long been in Shanghai and the Cantonese had removed the seat of government from Canton to the Wu-Han. The letter reads:

Banners in Chinese, Mongol and Russian for use in the allegedly contemplated Communist uprising in North China and seized in the raid on the Soviet Embassy on April 6.

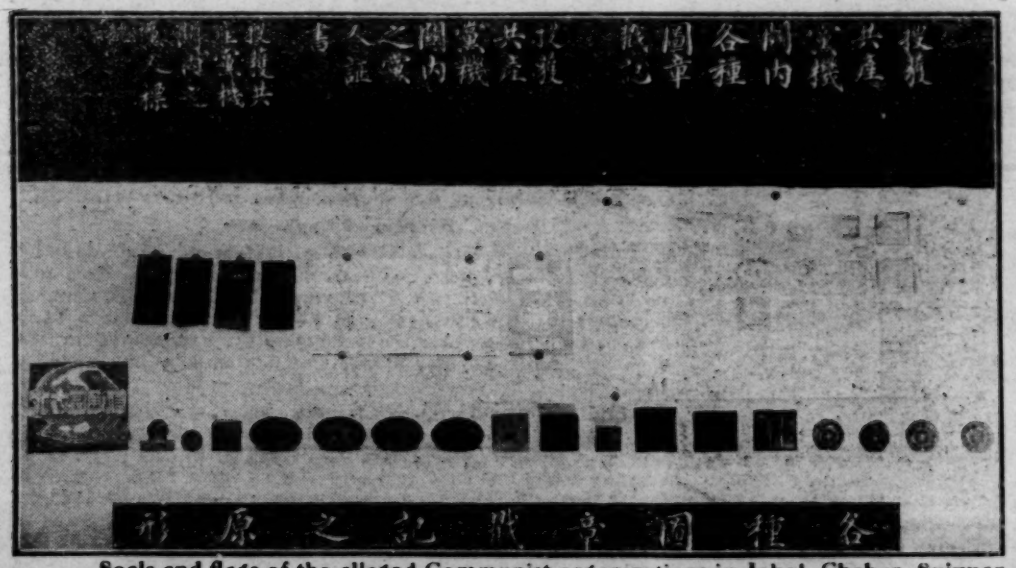
I suppose my report dated November 3 (No. 1043-C) has reached you. As regards the conclusion of a commercial agreement with China, we have absolutely nothing to gain judging by the present political circumstances here. Only China will be benefitted, and that is why they have repeatedly approached our Ambassador for the continuation of the Sino-Russian Conference. I am glad that our Foreign Office has refused to comply with the Chinese request.

The Peking government desires to strengthen its position by means of the Conference. They also intend to upset our credit. Should we refuse to accede to our demands at the Conference, the Peking government will use our refusal as a cause for attack. They may repeat their demand for the retrocession of Russian territories in the Far East.

Another important document seized was a statement of payments by the Russian Soviet government to the Chinese Communist party and the First, Second and Third Kuominchun of the Christian Marshal Feng Yu-Hsiang. The period of these payments is the six months beginning October 1, 1925, and ending March 31, 1926. This covered the time when Feng Yu-Hsiang held Peking and his armies had driven Li Ching-Lin and other Fengtien followers all the way to the Northern frontier of Shantung. In this movement, it will be recalled, Feng overstretched himself and Li Ching-Lin, who had clever Japanese officers on his staff, was able to come back to Tientsin, and later, after much and costly fighting, he retreated upon Peking, where he was pursued by the armies of Chang Tsung-Chang.

Then, Chang Tso-Lin having to some extent got rid of the treachery among his own troops in Manchuria, was able to move on Peking, and to avoid the destruction of Peking the Kuominchun withdrew to Nankow Pass, where it held for some months until he was able to retreat through Chahar and Suiyuan into Kansu for reorganization. Feng went to Moscow and upon his return seemed to have been completely inoculated with the Moscow virus, so much so that the other day when Chiang Kai-Shih broke with the Communist faction of the Kuomintang and set up his government at Nanking, the Communist faction at Hankow dismissed him, ordered a punitive expedition against him and appointed Feng Yu-Hsiang as his successor as commander-in-chief. It is important to fix these points clearly in mind in tracing the development of the general plot of Moscow to Bolshevize China and involve it with the foreign powers and thus, if possible, bring about what the Communist party of Moscow really desires, and that is a world revolution.

Some of the alleged Chinese Communists arrested in the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6. Those in the picture are: No. 1, Yao Yen; No. 2 Li Hun; No. 3, Yang Ching-shan; No. 4 Tang Ysu-Yao; No. 5 Hsieh Po-yu and No. 6 Teng Wen-liu.



Seals and flags of the alleged Communist organizations in Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan and provinces of North China which were seized in the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking on April 6.

Aid for Feng Yu-Hsiang

The seized documents show that the direct aid from Moscow to the armies of the Christian Marshal for the six months period reached a total of G$383,933 (the Bolshevist paymasters always have used American gold in their payments in China, often in actual currency.) Converted to local Chinese currency at the current rate of silver exchangs this sum realized a total of $813,937.96.

The budget of the Russian Communist paymasters for the period quoted appears from the documents to have been divided into three classes and provided for ordinary and extraordinary expenditures for each. In the first class, which was intended for the Chinese Communist party, appear these items:

A-	Salaries of central organ	G$1,700
	Books and periodicals	689
	Traveling expenese	4,000
	Foreign tuition of military officers	650
	Postage and telegrams	6,000
	Social expenses	6,000
	Salaries of Chinese political advisers	6,000
	Salaries of military advisers of Chinese Communist party	5,000
	Motor car expenses	300
	Total	$85,330
	Ten per cent extraordinary expense (graft)	*8,533*
	Grand total	G$93,863

For Troops of Feng Yu-Hsiang

B-	Salaries for delegation of sixty	G$70,000
	Military Academy and Kuominchun school	40,000
	Social expenses Kuominchun Club	6,000
	District party and labor unions	3,000
	Subsidy to bandits in Inner Mongolia	9,000
	Papers and periodicals	1,000
	Traveling expense	23,400
	Postage and telegrams	2,000
	Stationery	400
	Motorcar expenses	*300*
	Total	$135,300
	Ten per cent extraordinary expense (graft)	*13,530*
	Grand total	148,300

For Second and Third Kuominchun

C-	Salaries for 50 members of commission	G$58,500
	Expenses of military academy and 3 party schools	20,000
	Social expenses for clubs of two armies	6,000
	Expenses of local party organs	12,000
	Traveling expenses	19,500
	Publications	8,000
	Postage and telegrams	4,000
	Stationery	*400*
	Total	$128,400
	Ten per cent. extraordinary expense (graft)	*12,840*
	Grand total	G$141,240

There was revealed also evidence of a Russian bribe to end the power of Chang Tso-Lin and the Mukden party in China, for there were found two documents concerning the revolution of Kuo Sung-Lin in the winter of 1925, in which Japan has popularly been supposed to have had a strong part, although when the plot really became serious and the revolution took the form of a battle at Hsinminfu the Japanese turned right about and by throwing an army into Mukden enabled Chang Tso-Lin to release sufficient troops to crush the revolution, this leading to the effacement of Li Ching-Lin and to the lowering of the standing of Chu Yu-Pu and Chang Tsung-Chang, although both the latter were too strong to be curbed and still are under the Mukden flag, although it is well known that Chang Tso-Lin retains them simply because he is not strong enough to throw them overboard and awaits probably only the favorable opportunity.

Connection with Kuo Revolt

One of the documents was a letter from Kuo Sing-Lin to Ambassador Karakhan attacking Japan for assisting Chang Tso-Lin by puttiug obstacles in the way of Kuo's army at Yinkow and Liuchuang and urging the Soviet Ambassador to do his utmost to create anti-Japanese feeling with the view of forcing Japan to observe strict neutrality in the Chang-Kuo conflict in South Manchuria.

Another letter from Kuo Sung-Lin to Ambassador Karakhan urged that he direct the Soviet army officers to despatch arms and munitions as well as money to Kuo's troops and Chingchow. Also Marshal Feng Yu-Hsiang was urged to despatch reinforcements to Shanhaikwan and Chingchow in anticipation of a decisive battle with the Mukden forces in the vicinity of the Liao river. One of these letters mentioned the payment by the Soviet of $400,000 to Kuo Sung-Lin's army as a partial price for bringing about a revolution against Chang Tso-Lin and that a further $400,000 would be paid after the downfall of the Manchurian Tiger.

In these letters from Kuo Sung-Lin to Ambassador Karakhan Japan was condemned strongly for her alleged pro-Chang Tso-Lin attitude along the line of the South Manchuria railway, where she had placed every obstance in the way of Kuo's troops, as otherwise the revolutionaries would have entered the city of Mukden long before and there would have beee no occasion for battle on the Liao river. In other words, if Kuo Sung-Lin had not been delayed at Yinkow and Liuchuang by the opposition of Japan then the powerful mounted Heilungkiang troops under the command of General Wu Chung-Sheng could not have arrived at Hsinminfu and Kuopangtze in time to have saved the Mukden army from utter collapse.

These letters from Kuo Sung-Lin to Ambassador Karakhan are alleged by the followers of Chang Tso-Lin to prove absolutely the participation of the Soviet government in Kuo's revolt in the early winter of 1925, and they will form an important exhibit by the Chinese government in the indictment now being prepared against the government of Soviet Russia.

Of the seventy-five Chinese (men and women) and eighteen Russians arrested on the day of the raid on the Soviet Embassy grounds the most notable is Li Ta-Chao, leader in North China of the Chinese Communist party. He had long been living in the Embassy grounds and there disseminating his dangerous propaganda under the tutelage of the Russian Communists. Li's provincial friends under the leadership of Pei Mi-Chao and a group of three hundred intellectuals of Chihli province have presented a petition to the Mukden authorities asking for lenient treatment of Li Tao-Chao and have been assured that he will be accorded a formal trial.

Li Ta-Chao Educated in Japan

Li Ta-Chao was educated in Japan, after receiving his earlier schooling in Tientsin. He became a professor in the National University in Peking, which soon was a hotbed of Bolshevism and was the seat of most of the dangerous-thought that was disseminated in Peking up to the time of the slaughter students by the bodyguard of Provisional President Tuan Chi-Jui in March, 1914. Most of the parades of demonstrating students were formed on the campus of National University and much of the literature originated there.

Li also had connection in noth the Men's and Women's Normal Universities and much of the redicalism among the classes also is attributed to his teachings. In spite of these facts his friends are convinced that liberal treatment would convert Li Ta-Chao from Communism and win him back to the true service of his country.

Another of the noted prisoners is Lu You-Yu, head of the merchants bureau of the Communist Party. Others of note are Hsieh Pai-Yu, head of the organization bureau of the Peking branch of the Chinese Communist Party; Teng Tso-Yueh, its secretary; Teng Wen-Hsui, its business manager; Miss Chang Yen-Lan, head of the women's department; Yao Yen, acting head of the merchants' department; Yang Ching-Shan, secretary; Li Kun, business commissioner of the Ninth division of the Peking branch and others of like capacity but less known.

One of the numerous arrests made in Peking as the result of evidence obtained in the raid was Moh Ting-Ying, whose activity as a Communist leader was shown by documents seized. He said to have been the head of the peasant section of the Communist organization for the Metropolitan district. As is well known, and exemplfied particularly in Kwangtung and Hunan, where they are gaining control, the peasants' unions were organized through the agency of the Russian Communists for the purposes of creating reigns of terror and the seizing of the lands and effects of the better classes as part of the program for the rule of the proletariat under the program of the Commune.

Peking. May 1, 1927

HAORIS, KIMONOS,
DRESS PATTERNS
and SCARVES

TOYO MURAKAMI

26B, Kiangse Road, corner Ezra Road
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Wanted—Understanding

To the Editor,
The China Weekly Review:—

Undertanding, an obsolete taboo in the age of imperialism should find its expression and impression to-day. The taking over of Shanghai by the Nationalist Army has created no small amount of terror among the minds of those sensitive foreigners. They shudder at the possibility of another, Boxer-like uprising and join in an organized armed intimidation against the Chinese while the real cause of the trouble that lay as far back as 1842 is ignored. If the illusion of a war to end war offers no possible solution for the increasing nationlistic aspirations of the Chinese, or at least, for the safety of foreigners themselves, it is well to resort to another panoud—understanding.

As history repeats itself, we are allowed to recall the fact that China, long under the relentless pressure of foreign Powers, has at last gradually emerged from her age-long slumber. To-day, her aspirations rise so high that neither armed forces nor acheavel in wisdom can help any. The common aspiration among the Chinese points unanimously in the direction of the retrocession of the foreign settlements. The foreign settlements, the products of imperialism, for one reason or another, should be restored to China. If the apprehension that Chinese rule would put foreigners in a difficult position finds its renewing expression among foreign communities, it is convenient to offer Hankow as an explanation. Since the retrocession of the British Hankow settlement, things are found going on smoothly within it.

To the average foreigner, Russia is the "tinder-box" of the world. Obviously, Russia can never expect to be otheruside. To go into details, communism in its open manifestation tries to salvage humanity from the abyss of poverty, misery. and unequality. To achieve the end through a, sympathetic appeal, it calls forth the oppressed together in a united front against the oppressor, while battling its course, it attempts to follows closely with the latter and follows until the latter with its open cries totters to its own grave. Then a communistic revolution is achieved. This is the tactics of communism generally employed. It is to be remembered that the unhappy event of May 30, which ultimately proved to be the workers' initiative, was blindly imputed to Soviet propaganda. For the first time, this serves to manifest to the world that China hopelessly expects her release from foreign shackles and that there is no other way to be resorted to than to look to the world terrorist—Soviet Russia as the savior of the oppressed. The May 30 tragedy is pending. Another blunder is seen in progress to-day. Communistic Russia is either on her way to China, or has already carried on a persistent drive on the mainland. For the good of our friends, it is urged they will be wise enough not to make China ready for her, and ring their own death-knell'.

Aside from the above facts that necessitate the retrocession of foreign settlements, another situation of greater significance requires further reasoning. Take up the task of maintaining order and you will find a considerable difficulty confronts both the Chinese and foreign authorities to keep themselves on the job. Here is an example, to mention no others. If a Chinese resident in the foreign settlement in a fit of emotion murders a foreigner naturally the Chinese government deprived of its authority over the said settlement does not hold itself responsible for this, but cases arise in which foreigners come up for indemnity, apology oro therwise with an ultimatum offered. Likewise if a foreigner commits himself in the Chinese territory, he, as is often the case, may go unwhipped of justice, because he is of different nationality and on him the Chinese law has no claim. What an unequality! If the life of Chinese is not held cheap, this should not be allowed to continue any further. Happily today Chinese life is worth as much as that of any other national. The Chinese government may without difficulty, and likely without meeting with any unreasonable denial on the part of foreign powers, assume the same attitude in dealing the with such a case in exactly the same way. Then what should be done? The result naturally follow that foreign authority will either drive Chinese residents away en mass or permit a reign of terror to prevail. At the very outset, both plans seem at once undesirable and unworkable. Expulsion of Chinese residents means an immediate break-down of the foreign commercial fabric that forms the chief concern of foreign powers, while the other alternative is undoubtedly undesirable. If neither of the two alternatives is acceptable why not go directly to the inevitable remedy—to restore the settlement? This is the best way and the only way to reconciliation, peace and amity. Understanding this is the beginning of another era in the history of Chinese and foreign relations and it is here that the immediate solution of Far East entanglement lies!

The Comparative Law School of China CHEN REN SENG.
May 4, 1927.

Chang Tso-Lin's Unique Opportunity.

BY A. GORDON MELVIN.

THE events of recent weeks have so shaped themselves as to reveal the way in which the lucky cards have been falling to Chang Tso-lin. His *tour de force*, of course, was the Soviet embassy raid, which placed in his hands sensational documents and damning evidence which all contributed to amply justify his professed position during the past year. For some time he had been issuing various proclamations hurling bolt after bolt at the communists. News readers, however, have been inclined to feel that Chang Tso-lin's bogie was a great big "red" balloon, blown to the bursting with nothing more substantial than air. People have been saying that Chang Tso-lin had not the slightest shadow of justification for his campaign of selfish militarism; that his fiery fulminations were a sort of lurid excuse. In spite of what has happened there are some who will still feel that that was, in fact the real situation and that the astonishing find at the Soviet embassy was nothing more nor less than a gigantic bit of luck.

However that may be, Chang Tso-lin may now turn to the public with a magnificent gesture as one who would say—"Well, I was right after all, wasn't I?" It is just this which he has to build on. He may turn to Feng Yu-hsiang, the somewhat repentant ally of the Southern Communists and welcome his support in a conservative "Revolution." He may turn to the foreign powers jaded as they are with the grandiose burblings of Eugene Chen and claim that moderate as he may be Chiang Kai-shek is still of the Russian brood. He may turn paternally to his Chinese public exasperated by the impertinences of the young men and the children and say: "The day of conservatism and moderation has come and I am its prophet." In other words embryonically the position of Chang Tso-lin is the strongest of any of the opposing faction leaders in China today. The question is, can he play his cards well enough to win?

On the other hand, the position of Chiang Kai-shek has never been so indeterminate. Since the day when he took over command of the Southern armies he has never had so many difficulties to face. The Wuhan center which he bought with a great price he allowed to be handed over to men who have been accomplishing his ruin. He cooperated with the Communists for the sole purpose of preventing a split in the Nationalist party and thereby caused that split. He has to fight the strength he created at Hankow, and at the same time face the Fengtien movement from the north. He has lost a condiderable portion of the prestige he was gradually gaining with foreign powers so that America seems to be his only friend. The extent to which he can depend on Feng Yu-hsiang in case of a debacle in his own ranks seems extremely problematical. His chief asset seems to be his thorough belief in his cause and a magnificent, and what seems to be a comparitively unselfish, devotion to his country, qualities which have won for him the admiration of men in many lands.

But if Chang Tso-lin wishes to take advantage of the situation which fortune has thrust upon him, he must be extremely wily. In the first place it will be absolutly necessary for him to out-Sun Yat-sen and the Southern forces. This will be an extremely difficult thing to do, but his son's aid should be invaluable at this point. It will be necessary to develop an idea of an all-China patriotism, with the *San Min Chu I* as its text book. The all-China idea should need to mean negatively a non-Russian idea, and second positively a stand first against the "unequal treaties." The northerners have been quick to learn these two lessons from the Southern movement and have already been bidding for Chinese support by claiming that their zeal in these directions is no whit less than that of the South.

Supposing that Chang Tso-lin could succeed in any such patriotic appeal he would then have in his hands the basis of most convincing bid for the support of Feng Yu-hsiang. One of the unexpected factors in the situation of the past three months has been the inactivity of Marshal Feng. At last it seems to be developing that Feng's cooperation with the South has not been as wholehearted as might have been hoped. The reason is not far to seek. When Feng returned from Russia he was undoubtedly under the influence of what he learned and saw in that country. It is equally certain that he saw the best of the present Russian regime, and to a man who had never before been beyond the confines of China this best must appear very good indeed. Again, for years past Feng has been a most ardent admirer of Sun Yat sen and of his book, the Three Principles of Democracy. Feng has been a

(*Continued on page 288*)

As American and German Cartoonists See China

HE HOOKED THE BIG ONE IN 1914 WITH A SMALLER MINNOW THAN THAT

[Indianapolis News.]

THE ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN DUELISTS: "We are going to keep on fighting until our weapons go to pieces!"

—*Rul* (Berlin).

"AN' THE DAWN COMES UP LIKE THUNDER OUTER CHINA 'CROST THE BAY!"

—Kirby in the New York *World*.

© George Matthew Adams

"Not Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde but Uncle Sam in Chinese and Mexican eyes," read the legend above this cartoon. Onlookers must reconcile the inconsistency of Uncle Sam's conduct as best they can

(*Continued from page 286*)

thorough-going advocate of the Chinese Republic and has been eagerly watching for the so called completion of the Republic's revolution which Peking intellectuals have been so, blithely chattering about for some years. It is no wonder, therefore, that Feng fell in with Chiang Kai-shek and was all zeal for the Revolution. But there is reason to believe that there was more in the Southern movement than Feng reckoned for. It seems certain that both in Russia and after his return to China Feng was insistently informed and finally influenced to believe that the Southern movement was not Communistic and was furthermore in no way anti-Christian. In other words it seems almost certain that Feng Yu-hsiang was deceived by his advisors. Feng has always been ready enough to be anti-foreign in the professed sense of the Kuomintang but he has never been against individual foreigners. He has over and over again publicly expressed himself against communism, which he says is not suitable to the genius of the Chinese people. In spite of the quotation marks showered by journalists upon the "Christian" general there seems to be no reason to doubt that Feng is at least as Chrsitian as Foch or Allenby. Direct reports by mail from Kansu say that in territory under the first Kuominchun missionary work is officially protected and going on without interruption, a most phenomenal state of affairs in China to day. It seems therefore, that while Feng was at first deceived he is now learning the truth. He has his secret service men as well as any other and there seems to be little reason to doubt that the details of the extremism both communtistic an anti-Christion in Hunan and Hupeh are now reaching him with due effect upon his use of the forces of the Kuominchun.

Consequently, an appeal from Chang Tso-lin, if based on loyalty to the principles of Sun Yat-sen, freedom of religion and desire for clean government, might be most effective. The element of self-preservation for himself and his armies would also be important. The present state of affairs places Feng in a dilemma with respect to the support of his army. His military position next the Russian border has forced him into friendship with Russia. He has been dependent in a very vital way upon that friendship. If now he should side with the moderates of Chiang Kai-shek, and that means siding against Russia, his army would be in a most unsatisfactory position. His political opinions are such that it would be out of the question for him to join the Hankow group except in a case of absolute necessity, with the life of the army depending upon it. The only outlet is via Peking, and the ticket to Peking is controlled by Chang Tso-lin. Thus once more the lucky card is in the hand of the Fengtien warlord.

Again, Chang Tso-lin is in high favor with the foreign powers. Their glee concerning the raid of the Soviet embassy and its results has been scarcely concealed. It has enabled the diplomats to enjoy the luxury of smiling forth an "I told you so." The Nanking incident, the Hankow regime, and perhaps even more than these the tactless and studied insolence of the Southerners to the foreign powers have injured their cause to an enormous extent. Chang Tso-lin, however, has been more conciliatory. He has placed himself in a position where he may be able to reap the harvest that the South has been screaming for. The foreign powers have already comitted themselves as to revision of the treaties and cannot draw back. By the use of a little diplomacy, temperance and moderation, Chang Tso-lin and his ministers, by assuming China's reasonable obligations might gain the coveted prizes of the present agitations, preserving, at the same time, international peace and the gaining of the respect of Chinese and foreigners alike.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the presence of such an opportunity means that Chang Tso-lin will be able to grasp it. It will not be easy for those who have been following his movements for the last few years to forget that, after all, he is a militarist of the old school. It is but little more than a year ago that the country was witnessing his machinations from Mukden to Shanghai. It will be no easy matter to live down the insistent accusations of his affiliations with Japan. Nor will the city of Peking easily forget the overturning of Feng Yu-hsiang's peaceful and constructive program in the Capital and the Northwest in that holocaust of looting and rapine of the early winter of 1926. Furthermore, the spectacle of the bankruptcy and ineptitude of the Peking regime during the past year has been the most pitiably ludicrous scene in contemporary history. Chang Tso-lin has, however, probably the strongest military force in China today, trained, well-equipped and not shattered and shaken like the forces of Chiang Kai-shek by the shocks of the revolutionary campaign. He is credited with an excellent regime at Mukden. In the present lining up of events fortune is certainly smiling upon him. Can he live up to his day of opportunity?

St. John's University,

Shanghai April 29, 1927.

Nationalist Anti-Opium Campaign

BY K. T. CHUNG

THE anti-opium campaign under the new regime can be best reviewed in connection with the advance of the Nationalist Movement. When the Nationalist Army reached the province of Fukien, there amidst the calls for redress and rehabilitation was the voice of the secretary of the Anti-Opium Association, Mr. Garfield Huang, through whose efforts the people of Fukien have been given a new viewpoint in the opium question. A petition of eight demands was sent to the Provincial Government by the Foochow Anti-Opium Association, and among the eleven demands of the people the recommendation for the total suppression of opium constituted a very important factor.

Believing that the Nationalist leaders would carry out Dr. Sun's promise of opium suppression, the National Anti-Opium Association turned its attention to the Yangtze provinces as soon as the Nationalist Government took its seat at Wuhan. The Rev. K. T. Chung and Mr. Garfield Huang were immediately sent to see that the new Government had not forgotten the promise of its founder. On their way, they visited Kiangsi and Anhui, where people were aroused to take anti-opium actions as we found similar to that in Fukien. Then these representatives of the National Anti-Opium Association proceeded to Hupeh; they presented the following demands to the Wuhan Government:

Eight Demands to the Government

1. That the Nationalist Government instruct the local military and civil authorities to begin the prohibition of poppy cultivation in areas under their control this fall. The local authorities are to be responsible for any poppy discovered to be in existence in their locality hereafter.

2. That the Nationalist Government set a definite time limit for the total suppression of the illicit traffic and sale of opium in the different provinces under its control.

3. That the Nationalist Government instruct different provinces to start compulsory ameliorative asylums in every district and to conduct a survey of the addicts, requiring them to be treated by shifts. Special arrangement should be made for controlling the sale of opium to the old and sick addicts by a system of registration so that amounts sold would be gradually decreased until stopped altogether.

4. That the Nationalist Government instruct all the officials both in military and civil service to set an example for the people. Any found to smoke opium should be immediately discharged.

5. That the Nationalist Government instruct the authorities of different ports to strictly guard against the importation of foreign opium, morphine, heroin, cocaine and any other forms of narcotics. Any found to be engaged in this business should be duly dealt with regardless of his nationality.

6. That the Nationalist Government instruct all the publishers to include anti-opium educational material in text books for middle and primary schools.

7. That the Nationalist Government lodge a strong protest against the legalized opium monopoly system maintained largely for the Chinese residents by the French, Dutch, Portuguese and British Colonial Governments in the South Sea Islands.

8. That the Nationalist Government appoint a special committee on opium suppression to carry out the above plan.

Although their efforts along the Yangtze did not result in any definite action of the Government on account of the fact that as a new government it was involved in too many vital problems, yet they were given the satisfaction to see that the anti-opium campaign on the part of the people had got into full swing.

General Chiang was reported to have issued the following statement: "Although the suppression of opium under the present circumstances cannot be carried to a satisfactory degree owing to the overwhelming military activities, the people may rest assured that as soon as the revolutionary campaign is over, opium suppression will be one of the very first problems to be solved.

Attitude of the People

To show how the people of Hupeh were determined to fight against opium, let us quote here one of the demands drawn in a mass meeting be to sent to the Nationalist Government: "Being convinced that opium is one of the chief causes of our national humiliation and weakness, we recommend that the Government should take immediate action to cleanse the country of opium within six months, and we will back up the Government policy with a general anti-opium movement."

Soon after the deputies of the National Anti-Opium Association came back to Shanghai, however, the Nationalist Government came to a new cleavage, which resulted in the formation of the Nanking Government. With the single purpose of fighting against opium, the Association has left no path untrodden to approach the new Government to bring about a definite anti-opium policy. One of the Nationalist leaders, to which the Association made its appeal, is Mr. Niu Ung Chien, the Chief Secretary of the Nanking Government and a member of the Civil Committee of the Kiangsu province. Mr. Niu gave the Association many valuable suggestions and promised to give his personal assistance to the anti-opium movement.

Another authority which the Association approached for a sincere expression of the Government's will to suppress is Mr. Chen Chung, the head of the Civil Department of the Nationalist Army in Shanghai. Mr Chen in the reception held by the Association on April 28, had his representative make the statement that the Civil Department of the Nationalist Army here was ready to receive any recommendation from the Anti-Opium Association and was resolved to help bring the anti-opium campaign to a glorious finish.

The Association Manifesto

The Association is planning to make another effort to render its voice heard in the meeting of the Central Executive Committee at Nanking; meanwhile it is trying to stir up stronger public opinion to back up the anti-opium movement. A gist of its recent manifesto will serve to illustrate this:—"Now that a greater part of China has come under the Nationalist rule, we deem it is time for us to reinforce the movement with new efforts. We strongly believe that the suppression of opium is closely related to the success of the revolutionary movement, for the opium evil that sucks the people's vitality and impoverished their livelihood is in direct contrast to the reconstructive programme of the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun again maintained in one his statements given in Canton, 1924: 'In my opinion, the problem of opium suppression is synonymous with the problem of good government, for the traffic in opium cannot co-exist with a National Government deriving its power and authority from the people! We have reason to believe that all faithful members of the Kuomintang, and authorities in the Nationalist Government will keep true to these momentous utterances of the late leader, and try their utmost to extinguish the opium evil.

"The Association, on its part, considers it a great privilege to render whatever service it can in this new drive against the evil. Herewith, besides sending our petition to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang now held in Nanking, we beg to enlist the support and cooperation of all who are interested in this anti-opium movement."

A New Era Begun

It is not to be understood that the foregoing manifesto serves any other purpose than to arouse public attention to the evil of opium. As a body devoted to the world-wide cause, the Association is not so much interested in politics as some friends used to think. The fact is that the Association has been trying in every possible way to awaken the Chinese people to the danger of the opium evil, indeed not less oppressive than any other power they wish to overthrow. Thus in this troublesome May, the Association sees another opportunity to fulfil its in duty in calling the attention of the people to the importance of the opium question. Different pamphlets suitable for different occasions of the month have been prepared and are to be distributed throughout the country. When people themselves stand up and assume an offensive attack, the anti-opium campaign will be half fought. All the foregoing observations then point to the fact that with the general awakening of the Chinese people and the sincere sympathy of the Nationalist Government, a new era of the national anti-opium movement has begun, for which, it is firmly believed, all friends of the movement will feel much encouraged and be the more glad to render their several assistance.

The National Anti-Opium Association. May 4 1927.

Wright & Ditson-Victor

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WHAT THEY SAY!

IN LAST week's issue of *The Review* there appeared a number of letters congratulating the editor of this publication for his stand in refusing to permit the American Chamber of Commerce to dominate the policy of this paper. A number of other letters and messages have been received since last week along the same line. Here they are:

(By cable) Columbia, Mo., April 5, 1927.
Powell China Weekly Review Shanghai.
Congratulations on your courage and vision.

WALTER WILLIAMS
(Dean, School of Journalism, University of Missouri and President, World Press Conference)

Manchuria, May 2, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—As I see from the *North-China Daily News* that you are getting in hot water for telling the truth about Shanghai, please make me an annual subscriber for your paper and send me copies of all numbers from March 1 onward.

OUTPORT AGENT, LARGE BRITISH COMPANY

Peking, April 30, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—This is just a word of appreciation from one of your readers for your consistently fair policy in your *Review*, especially in respect to Chinese questions. I imagine it is winning you no little unpopularity among foreigners in Shanghai and it is taking a real amount of courage to maintain your policy. Be assured that it *is* appreciated not only by Chinese but by a large group of foreigners in China.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Hankow, April 29, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—The *People's Tribune* of this morning reports the action of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai against you because of the views you have expressed from time to time in the *Weekly Review*, regarding the situation in China and the policy you think America should follow. I just wanted to let you know that not all Americans feel as the Chamber of Commerce does. I have read with great appreciation your editorials during the past months, and have found sense and fairness that has been so lacking in most other publications in Shanghai. You have evidenced a sympathetic understanding of the Chinese side of the question, and a world view of the issues involved, that has made *The Review* a real force for international understanding and world peace.

We are glad that you stand where you do, and that you held your ground under their attacks. We are strong for you.

AMERICAN RESIDENT

Shanghai, May 3, 1927.

Dear Powell:

Please find enclosed my check for $10.00 for which enter my name on your subscription list for the "China Weekly Review" for the coming year. I have been reading a Library copy of the "Review," but in the light of what happened in last week's meeting of the Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce, I want to join the roll of your regular subscribers.

Incidentally I want to tell you how greatly I have admired and appreciated the editorial course you have been pursuing in dealing with the present international situation in China. Not only has this course seemed to me the right one but it most certainly has reflected the policy of Washington (and of London too) more nearly than does the position of your critics.

While you must find real satisfaction in the confidence that you are standing for a more humane, just and sensible policy than are your critics yet it is not easy, I am sure, to maintain such a position in the environment of Shanghai at the present time. I take my hat off to your courage as well as to your political wisdom, I doubt not that your critics doff their hats likewise to your courage, even though they may question your widsom in dealing with the present situation.

Keep it up. And strength to your elbow!

AMERICAN WELL WISHER

Shanghai, May 3, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:

We are living in the twentieth century where freedom of speech of and press is universally recogized and guaranteed. It is an age of free inquiry and bold

criticism. All branches of learning and all institutions are regarded in the light of Reason. Constitutions of all civilized nations in the world expressly grant such freedom to their people. To protect and preserve such freedom is one of the fundamental functions of any constitutional government.

But constitutional government is only yet in the making in China hence to deprive a Chinese of a right of this kind is not a matter of grave seriousness. But it is strange to note that in one of the leading democratic countries in the world, the people are denied of such right. The *China Weekly Review*, because of its bold criticism of the local defence, and its editorial comment on the policy of its government, has been asked to resign from the membership of the American Chamber of Commerce.

Leaving out the questions of constitutionality of the procedure, let me ask Mr. F. F. Fairman, the proposer, and Mr. G. E Tucker, the seconder, a question: Is it not a constitutional right of every American to express his opinion freely on the policy of his government? The first amendment of the constitution of the United States provides that congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of press. (See, Black—Constitutional Law, page 650) This constitutional provision is designed to ensure freedom for the expression of opinion.

Mr. Powell, as an editor, is no doubt, free to express his opinion on the present situation. Even though his opinion is just in contradiction to the policy of his government, no one has any right to accuse him. Shall such right be denied to him, it is a plain violation of the constitutional provision. Then, the American people are really going back to the 17th century where expression of opinion was prohibited, and freedom of speech and press was denied; the words of one man or a few men were law.

In fact, it is this freedom that checks the government from becoming despotic; it is these journalists who serve as watchmen of politics.

As I said, to deny such right in China is trifling; but to deny it to the American people is a matter of grave aspect. We, the humanitarians, have to fight for the restoration of such right. Let me give him courage that such incident by no means discourages us. It is rather a spur that sets the horse going faster; it is rather a stimulus that sets us to fight hard for such freedom. This incident is in reality a "blessing in disguise" to us.

C. Y. W. MENG.

Shanghai, May 3, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—Ever since I read of the action of the American Chamber of Commerce regarding *The China Weekly Review*, I have intended writing to you to express my disapproval of such an action on the part of the Chamber of Commerce. While not agreeing with you in some points, I do admire your convictions on other points. The action of the American Chamber of Commerce seems to be both un-American and undemocratic.

AMERICAN BELIEVER IN FREE SPEECH

Shanghai, April 4, 1927.

Dear Mr. Powell:—The present policy of *The China Weekly Review* has found many admirers who desire to see fair-play, impartiality and far-sightedness. The military-political developments in China of late have become the object of heated criticism among the foreign newspapers. It is the usual practice of the Shanghai newspapers, particularly the British press, to rush to conclusions indiscriminately without even paying a 'flying visit' to the real situation, or inquiring into what it is all about. Impulse, blind prejudice, short-sightedness all blind them on one hand and precipitate writing obscures the logic of reasoning on the part of their readers, on the other hand. This is the trouble we are in today.

The China Weekly Review, in the midst of an absurd situation, has been the only foreign paper in Shanghai, or even China for that matter, to keep itself aloof from what is generally called the evil tendency of today, or in other words, mob psychology. There is every reason to believe that *The Review* has the right to be steadfast in its interpretation of the best in American policy, which really is the viewpoint of the intellectual people of America. I am deeply interested in your way of presenting the situation and have followed you closely from the *China Press* to *The China Weekly Review*.

A CHINESE

Opinion in Washington

The *Washington Post* editorially April 5 stated: "The excited appeal of the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai, calling for concerted retaliatory measures by the powers, should be disregarded."

Another Account of the Nanking Incident

Editor's Note:—In view of the fact that The Review has published one complete account and several references to the Nanking incidents of March 24 which were supplied by American missionaries present in Nanking at the time, all of w ich allege that the atrocities were the work of Nationalist troops in uniform, it is also of interest to read the following report which was published recently in the People's Tribune of Hankow which attempts to show that the Nanking atrocities were the work of Northern troops or Nanking rabble. This account which was based upon a personal investigation made on March 30, six days following the incidents, was written by Mr. G. A. Kennedy, an American who was born in China and speaks the local Kiangsu dialect. Mr. Kennedy, who is a graduate of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, is a teacher in the American School at Kuling, but is now employed as a member of the faculty of the Shanghai American School, having been transferred to Shanghai following the evacuation of foreigners from Kuling.

"THE reports issued in the foreign press of Shanghai following the Nanking incident may be summarized as follows:

"'It is considered unquestionable that the incidents of the 24th, which resulted in death for one American, two British and one Japanese, were part of a pre-arranged plan by the Canton forces to attack and massacre all foreigners in that city. The bombardment by British and American warships checked the attempt and saved the lives of foreigners, resulting at the same time in much damage to the city and many Chinese casualties. In consequence of this affair antiforeign feeling in Nanking has become very strong and the few foreigners who have taken refuge on warships in the river are unable to set foot ashore save at the risk of their lives.'

"The following facts which I gathered during a stay of two days in Nanking, from March 30 to April 1, show that each of these statements is partly or entirely false.

"The allegation that the attack on foreigners was prearranged is proved untrue by several facts:

"1. In no other city where Cantonese have entered has any such anti-foreign attack been carried out. This establishes the pre-supposition that it is not in line with the customary policy of the Nationalist Army.

Northerners in City

"2. The attempt has been made to prove by process of elimination that the events at Nanking were directed by Southern troops. All Northern soldiers, it was said, had by that time evacuated the city and retreated across the river. Therefore, anything which happened in the city after the morning of the 24th must have happened at the instigation of the Nationalists since they were the only people on the scene. This reasoning falls to pieces when we realize the fact that thousands of Northern troops were captured in the taking of Nanking. Their retreat had been cut off at the river in the morning. Throughout the day the process of taking prisoners was engaged in. Southern officials estimate the total number of captives at 40,000. The registration of 27,000 of these had been completed by April 1st. I myself saw large numbers of Northern troops in the city, some at large, some in enclosures. In view of this fact it is ridiculous to claim that Northern soldiers could not have played any part in the events of the 24th. Throughout that day there were plenty of armed Northern troops at large in the city.

Pre-Arranged?

"3. Assuming that this prearranged plan to massacre foreigners had actually existed, it is impossible to explain its curious failure. The total casualties to Americans numbered one. This was Dr. J. E. Williams, vice-president of Nanking University near the center of the city. During all of that day and night of 24-25 over fifty Americans were quartered in one of the university buildings. A guard of one hundred Southern soldiers was especially detailed to protect them. In the morning of the 25th they were sent under protecting guard, at their own request, to the American vessel off Hsiakwan, by which they were conveyed to Shanghai. The trip from Nanking University to the bank of the river is from three to five miles. During this trip and during the subsequent embarkation the whole party suffered no harm.

"If, as is claimed, it was the policy of the Nationalist Army to massacre foreigners, there was ample opportunity during the twenty-four hours following the shooting of Dr. Williams, not to mention the self-evident fact that all the

(*Continued on page 292*)

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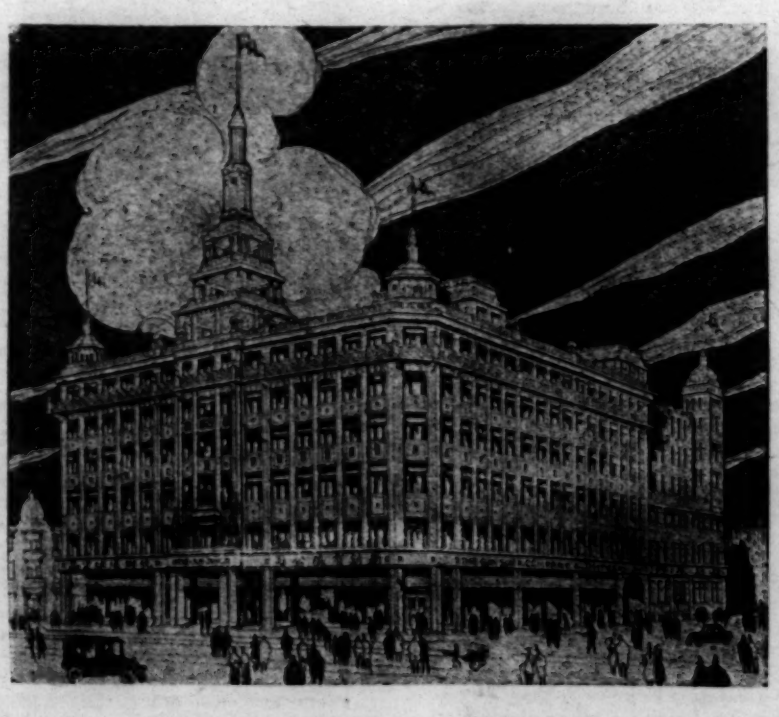

21 DAYS 21

THE SUN SUN CO., LTD.

NANKING ROAD - - - SHANGHAI

(*Continued from page 290*)

foreigners could have been killed long before the bombardment took place. That not the slightest attempt was made on the life or safety of foreigners as soon as the Southern authorities arrived on the scene amply proves that no anti-foreign policy existed.

Material Evidence

"4. All the material evidence that could be found tends to fasten responsibility on the Northern soldiers. Students fa the university, when questioned regarding the shooting of Williams, stated that they believed he was killed by Southern soldiers. At the same time they offered as evidence a cap they had picked up which, on examination, proved quite obvio usly to be one of those worn by Northern soldiers. It had on it the red band of the Shantung army. It had no "white sun in a blue field" button over its peak. At the looted British Consulate the writer found in various places a cap, flat-toppetd, with a red band, two shoes with cloth soles and high cloth ops, and a cartridge bag. All of these articles, I satisfied myself from examination of soldiers in the city, belong definitely to the equipment of Northern soldiers, and are never worn by Cantonese troopers.

"5. Since the theory of "pre-arranged plan" is quite out of the question, the most probable explanation must be formulated as follows:

The Stage

"By three o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the Northern Army had given up all hope of holding Nanking. For several days, in fact, they had played the part of a defeated army and had looted Chinese property and shops preparatory to retreating northward across the river. It is not difficult to imagine the confusion which existed amongst them at the approach of the Southern army. At three o'clock a. m. the Nationalists began entering the city. The Northerners were retreating headlong All the ruffians of the civilian population took advantage of the situation. During a large part of the day, then, Northern troops were at large in the city, armed, and in the utmost confusion: Southern soldiers had entered and were capturing and disarming the enemy as rapidly as possible. Under such conditions any outbreak of violence might be expected.

"Both what might be normally expected, therefore, and what actually happened show that no deliberate massacre could have been contemplated, but that on the contrary the looting and attacks which took place are to be attributed to the unusually disturbed condition of the city and the extreme confusion that prevailed before the Southern military officials got control.

"This is further borne out by the special circumstances under which Dr. Williams was killed. The description of the affair by one of the university students was as follows: Dr. Williams was standing on the campus of the university in company with four other Americans when a party of soldiers appeared on the scene. They approached the group of five and demanded money and watches. Four of the Americans apparently complied, but Dr. Williams refused and offered resistance, giving the impression that he was drawing a pistol from his hippocket. Immediately one of the soldiers fired. killing him on the spot.

"It is important to note the presence of the other Americans, as this fact shows that Dr. Williams' shooting was an isolated incident and not part of any 'general massacre.'

Argument of Time

"In the second place, however, the argument has been made that although the "pre-arranged plan" was not very much in evidence in what took place, it did actually exist, its fulfilment being prevented only by the heavy bombardment to which the British and American war vessels subjected the city. It has been shown, I think, that quite other reasons operated. At the time Dr. Williams was shot, for example, (eight o'clock in the morning) the bombardment had nothing to do with preventing the shooting of his four companions. The bombardment did not commence until half past three in the afternoon. What had happened to the "massacre" plan during all the morning and afternoon, assuming that the plan existed, as the foreign Shanghai press says it did?

"The physical effects of the bombardment were slight. I saw the home of one English family on Socony Hill which had been hit by several shells. The roof was shattered, the walls partly destroyed. I myself saw but few Chinese houses which had been struck. But I did not see all sections of the city. From conversations with many Chinese, who had been all over the city, I gathered that there were fewer than fifty houses demolished by the bombardment.

"A small shell-hole was noted in the sidewalk of the street running west from the Watch-tower. When this shell fell, I was told, one Chinese was killed and two wounded. I gathered, however, that others had been killed in other parts of the city. My conviction, after many conversations with police and others in a position to know, is that the Chinese casualties from the bombardment were not great. The losses of the Chinese population, however, from the rapacity of the Shantungese soldiery running amok were great, both in lives and personal belongings.

A Statement By Mr. Kennedy

Shanghai, May 10, 1927.

I have been told that articles are appearing in current newspapers attributing to me statements in regard to the Nanking Incident. I have not seen these articles, and I disclaim responsiblity for their publication at this time. I made one, and only one report of a trip to Nanking from which I returned on April. In this report I related conversations, observations, and statements that I had gathered during the trip, and it was not my intention to disprove statements of eyewitnessess of the experiences of March 24. In fact, when I made my report, I had not even interviewed any of the foreigners from Nanking.

Inasmuch as portions of my report written on April 3 have, as I am told, been recently used by certain papers, with certain parts distorted, (accordiag to reports of these articles given to me). impressions have been produced which would not have been possible had my report been read in its entirety. In order to correct these impressions. I wish to state that it is my present opinion, in the light of all the evidence that has come to my notice, that the following digest of evidence furnished by missionaries is true:

1. That Dr. J. E. Williams did not draw a pistol, did not forcibly resist looting, but that he made a remonstrance when being looted of his watch, and that the soldier shot and killed him with no more provocation than this.

2. That the Nanking affair was committed by Southern troops, and that it was probably planned by authoritative agents of the extreme group of the revolutionary movement, the group with which Chiang-Kai Shek has since broken, and which he is now attempting to eliminate.

GEORGE A. KENNEDY.

"Rather Die Free Than Live as a Slave"

To the Editor, *The China Weekly Review*,

Sir: I have read with much interest in *The Review* of April 30 your editorial article entitled "What do the 'better' class Chinese want?" and I am of the same opinion that "the Chinese unitedly oppose foreign intervention and interference in their affairs." I don't know where I should be classified by "American" who in a recent letter contributed to the British newspaper *North-China Daily News* in Shanghai, claims that "the better class Chinese, the rank and file, the business men and the merchant class would desire nothing more than some form of foreign intervention in China." but I for one oppose foreign interference in our domestic affairs. Foreign intervention to us is unthinkable. It would lead eventually to foreign occupation and partition of China and a complete slavery of the Chinese people.

We know perfectly how the Hindus, the Annamese, and the Koreans are being treated by their conquerers; we have tasted the bitterness of foreign oppression; and we have still on our hands plenty of bitter pills of foreign imperialism which we want very badly to, but have not get been able to, get rid of. Are these bitter pills of foreign imperialism of which we still have plenty on our hands not enough for us that we should want to have more and bitterer ones by welcoming foreign intervention in China? Do we prefer slavery to freedom? The answer of Young China is in the negative. If we have to choose between a devil and a deep sea we, for the sake of our children and the children of our children, would rather have a China in chaos controlled by owrselves than a China in peace under foreign domination. I for one would rather die a free man than live a slave.

"American" calls himself a friend of China saying that he is an old China hand. but his advocacy for foreign intervention in China indecates that he is no more a friend to us than Brutus was to Caesar.

From my long experience in contact and in conversation on Chinese-foreign relations with Americans both in China and in the States I am compelled to come to the conclusion that the longer the Americans as a whole live in China especially those living in Shanghai where the imperialistic influence is the strongest the less the real American spirit in them and the more they become Europeanized. The more they become Europeanized by the mighty British propaganda in China, the more they forget the freedom and liberty of the Chinese people. They have responded to the British call, they have joined in the imperialist camp, and they have followed the British flag with the battle cry: "The better class Chinese want foreign intervention in China", which deceives nobody but themselves. AN AMERICAN RETURNED STUDENT.

Shanghai, May 5, 1927

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

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(INCORPORATED UNDER THE COMPANIES ORDINANCES OF HONGKONG.)

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Head Office—Shanghai.

Shanghai, 28th April 1927.

The China Weekly Review,
4 Avenue Edward VII,
Shanghai.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the advertising contract between this Company and yourselves dated 1st January 1927, we have decided to exercise our right to terminate the said contract under the terms of the Clause therein relating to the publication of matter in the advertising medium which would cause the advertiser, if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium.

We, therefore, hereby give you notice that the said contract is terminated forthwith and that no further advertisements of our goods thereunder are to be published in any subsequent issue of your Review.

Yours faithfully,
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W. S. BUNGEY
Advertising Manager.

WSB:MS

Editor's Note:—The clause in the B. A. T. Advertising contract, which all publishers are required to sign, regardless of nationality, reads as follows:

> "That in the event of the advertising medium publishing matter which would cause the advertiser, if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium, the advertiser shall be entitled to terminate this Contract forthwith by notice in writing to the publisher."

Previous to the anti-British boycott, following the May 30, 1925 incidents in Shanghai, when practically all of the Chinese newspapers refused to publish the advertisements of the B. A. T. this clause in the contract read somewhat differently from the foregoing as the following shows:

> "That in the event of the advertising medium adopting an *anti-British tone* or publishing matter which would cause the advertiser if not under contract, to refrain from advertising in the advertising medium, the advertiser shall be entitled to terminate this Contract forthwith by notice in writing to the publisher."

We assume the public both in China and abroad will be interested in this attempt on the part of a great British corporation, to muzzle editorial opinion in China.

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1-A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai.

Historical Sketch Of The Chinese Labor Movement

The following historical sketch of the Chinese labor movement was written by Mr. Earl Browder, an American socialist and labor leader who is now in China at Hankow. The article, though biased, is interesting in that it based upon an interview with Su Shao-chen, chairman of the 'All-China Labor Federation' and Minister of Labor in the Wu-Han Government. Li Li-san, secretary of the Chinese labor organization also supplied some of the information.

The Chinese trade union movement dates from 1919. It arose during the great anti-Japanese movement, protesting against the "21 points", known as the "Fourth of May Movement". "This began as a student's movement, Some embryonic organizations of workers had existed previously among the railway workers on the Peking-Mukden line, and the Peking-Hankow line, but had not yet become properly a trade union movement. These embryonic groups were transformed into trade unions during 1919.

1919 Strikes

At the same time in Shanghai broke out the strikes of textile workers and dockers, who were in Japanese employment, 20,000 in all, while in Hongkong occurred a large metal workers strike. These were successful, and imparted a great impetus to the labor movement elsewhere. During this time the trade unions in Kwangtung Province made especial progress, in Canton alone their number increasing from 20 to 100 during 1919. This year may therefore be called the real beginning of the Chinese labor movement.

Among the most important influences affecting the course of devolopment of the labor movement, were the following:

1. The Russian revolution, which was made known to the Chinese masses through several propaganda papers.
2. The rising Chinese nationalist movement, which began to absorb masses into its ranks. A seamen's union was organized at that time by the Kuomintang; there existed the Social-Republican party, and also many anarchist groups. The political movement was especially strong in Canton.
3. The workers had lived thru several insurrections which had failed; from these, the lesson of necessity of strong, centralized organization had penetrated large masses.
4. Organization of the Chinese Communist Party, which furnished a central direction for the movement; this was done thru a special organ, called "Secretariat of the Chinese Labor Movement", with branches in Shanghai, Canton, and Hankow.

Seamen's Strike

After 1919, the trade unions grew steadily. But it was not until 1922, when another national wave of struggles broke out, that the First All-China Congress was held. First among the battles of 1922, was the great Hongkong Seamen's strike, which was declared in January 12th, and lasted 56 days. Before it ended in the granting of the workers' demands, all Hongkong labor had been drawn into the struggle, in a General Strike which included the railwaymen. The successful outcome of this struggle stimulated the workers of the entire country.

The center of the 1922 movement was the Railwaymen's organization particularly that of the Peking-Hankow line, which had 16 branches with 18,000 members. A successful strike on this line was quickly followed by railway strikes throuout Central and Northern China; Peking-Mukden line, Shanchow-Haichow line, etc. Thru this movement 50,000 railwaymen were organized in the Union.

In the Province of Hupeh, a General Trade Union (Provincial Federation) was established with 23 trade unions, and 35,000 members.

In Hunan Province, after a long strike of 13,000 miners of An-yuen, the movement was established, with 25 trade unions in which were 40,000 members.

The Shanghai movement was very active, with strikes of seamen, silk filature workers, postmen, and others. All these strikes, except that of the seamen, were however unsuccessful, and the movement there received a setback, only 20,000 members being organized as a result of the 1922 movement.

First Congress

On May 1, 1922, the First All-China Labor Congress was held in Canton, on the initiative of the "Secretariat of the Chinese Labor Movement". A membership of 230,000 was represented. The most important resolution at this Congress was that providing for the industrial form of organization.

It had been decided at the First Congress to convene the Second Congress at Hankow on May 1st, 1923. But on Feb.

(*Continued on page 296*)

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America Not to Send New Note On Nanking Affair

The following message is from the Washington correspondent of *The China Weekly Review*:

Washington, May 4.—President Coolidge at the regular weekly conference with newspaper correspondents at the White House today, officially denied the report that Mr. John Van A. MacMurray, American Minister at Peking was planning to resign. In this connection the President said that reports to the effect that Mr. MacMurray was planning to resign, which had originated in non-American sources were to be discounted. In connection with the China situation, the President stated that it was doubtful whether the Powers had agreed on their course in respect to China, especially concerning the new Note relative to the Nanking incidents.

Mr. Coolidge said that while it was possible that the foreign Ministers at Peking had agreed upon a course of action, he doubted whether the agreement had been approved by their home governments. From the standpoint of possible American action, President Coolidge expressed doubt as to whether a new note should be sent at all on the question of Nanking. He stated that America was awaiting developments and also indicated that America was not following an independent course but was maintaining her position in China which was announced in his address before the United Press in New York on April 25.

The President expressed the hope that the other Powers would recognize the wisdom of the American policy. Secretary of State Kellogg has also issued a denial that MacMurray was planning to resign.

It was also indicated at the White House that there is no difference of opinion among the Cabinet members regarding the American policy in respect to China, a report of which had also been circulated by non-American agencies. Secretary Hoover, who was reported as dissenting from the Administration's views in respect to the first Nanking Note, also issued a strong denial that there was any difference of opinion in the Cabinet. The Government is continuing to give careful thought and consideration to the situation in China.

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(*Continued from page 294*)

7th, occurred the massacre in Hankow of the railway union leaders and others by Wu Pei-fu, and white terror reigned thruout China. This massacre and repression was planned and ordered by British imperialists, who were financing Wu Pei-fu. The immediate occasion for it was the creation of the General Union of Railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow line; Wu Pei-fu dissolved the union, whereupon a general strike broke out, which was joined by all Hankow workers. An All-China strike was imminent. But the movement was crushed by the Army of Wu Pei-fu, who executed 43 leaders, imprisoned unknown hundreds, and dissolved all trade unions. Even sympathizing schools were closed, and all unionists were driven from the factories and railroad, when not imprisoned and shot. During this reign of terror the entire movement was crushed, except at Canton, where the trade unions remained intact.

1924 Revival

Until September, 1924, there was a period of reaction. Then the movement began to revive again. On January 18, 1925, occurred the beginning of a series of strikes in Shanghai, Tsingtao, and other cities. These were all successful, and regained some of the losses of hours, wages, and conditions which had been lost in the year and a half of reaction.

The period of inaction after the defeat of 1923, had been made use of by the workers to assimilate the lessons of the past experiences. There also occurred during this period a great change among the leaders of the Kuomintang, who finally had come to realize the vastly important role of the working class in the Chinese National revolution. The masses themselves had achieved political consciousness, and learned the necessity of strong trade unions. Internatianal relations had been established during the struggle, when the Russian and Japanese trade unions sent telegrams of solidarity, and the Chinese trade unions had addressed themselves to the trade union movement of the world.

On May 1, 1925, the Second All-China Labor Congress was held at Canton, in an atmosphere of a rising movement. More than 600.000 members were represented. At this Congress, the All-China Labor Federation was definitely formed; theory, tactics and organization methods firmly established, and a recognized central leadership was set up.

The Massacres

Quickly thereafter followed the massacre of 30th May at Shanghai, and the Shakee massacre at Canton, on June 23. These occurrences were the signal for a national upheaval. Strikes broke out everywhere. The most notable of these was the glorious strike of the Hongkong and Canton workers against the British, and the blockade of Hongkong for more than a year. In Shanghai, more than 300,000 workers came into the trade unions. Great movements sprang up at Dairen, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Nanking, Kiukiang, Hankow. Living and working conditions were everywhere improved. In Shanghai a general wage increase of 15% was secured. Not only the industrial workers, but also the artisans thruout China, flocked into the movement.

The Third All-China Labor Congress was held on May 1, 1926 in Canton. Already there were 1,200,000 members. Concrete resolutions were adopted on all problems of the movement. The movement after May 30th had raised the level of the entire working class. Previously the political side of the trade unions had not been firm; now the trade unions were deep in the political struggle and leading it. Active and permanent contact had been established with the international labor movement. The movement had become mature.

Militarist agents of imperialism still tried to crush the rising trade union movement, especially at Tientsin, Tsingtao, Shanghai, and Mukden. But steady and rapid progress continued and continues to today. The masses of all China had been won to the trade unions and to the Revolution.

Basis of Victories

The Northern Expedition of the Revolutionary Armies was prepared by the great national strike movement following May 30. This was the basis of the military victories, which resulted in the occupation of the Yangtse Valley, the capture of Nanking and Shanghai, and the present drive toward Peking. When the Revolutionary Army entered Shanghai, for example, they found the city already policed by the Workers' Guards, and an administration jointly established by the trade unions, commercial associations, and students unions, already functioning.

This is a general and very brief review of the history of the Chinese labor movement. Results which in Europe or America would have taken decades to accomplish, have been in China accomplished in a few years. The demands of the trade unions have gone thru the whole scale, from the most elementary economic demands up to participation in Government and management of industry. And these highest demands are now being realized, with Comrade Su Shao-chen in charge of the Labor Ministry, and the trade unions already participating in the administration.

Future of Shanghai Discussed in House of Commons

In the House of Commons in London on March 28, Lord Ersking (C.—Weston-super-Mare) asked the Foreign Secretary if he could make any statement as to any negotiations in reference to the future of Shanghai.

Sir A. Chamberlain: There is no British concession at Shanghai. British interests centre in the International Settlement. The future of that settlement can be determined only in consultation with the other Powers interested. No negotiations in regard to it are in progress at the present time, nor is it possible to negotiate fruitfully in the present anarchical conditions.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Lab.—Hull) asked, in view of the fact that the predominance of the property at Shanghai is British, whether in our own interests the right hon. gentleman would not consider opening up negotiations with the Cantonese authorities immediately. What harm could be done by that?

Sir A. Chamberlain: There are two observations to be made to that question. The first is that when you are dealing with joint property you must consult all the parties. One party cannot dispose of the property in which others have right without communication with them. The second observation is that we have dealt in a most liberal and, I might say, confiding spirit with our own property in the British concession at Hankow, and we must be assured that the conditions are such that the Chinese authority, whatever it is, can preserve order where that authority extends before we make a further surrender of British interests and property. (Ministerial cheers.)

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke asked the Foreign Secretary whether he is aware of the uneasiness prevailing among British nationals at Hankow owing to the failure of the Cantonese to maintain order in the concession; and can he say what steps he proposes to take to secure protection for British life and property?

Sir A. Chamberlain: Yes, sir. The position at Hankow has again been strained. The Chinese troops have again been stopping and threatening British residents and have tried to prevent access to ships and men-of-war. Representations have been made to Mr. Chen, who has expressed his regrets, and the soldiers are now being withdrawn from the concession. H. M. Consul General and the naval authorities are taking such steps as are in their judgment necessary to secure the safety of British citizens.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke: Is the Foreign Secretary aware that the Hankow Agreement has had no beneficial results whatever, but rather the contrary, and that the position of the British nationals in Hankow has become untenable?

Sir A. Chamberlain: I think my hon. friend's judgment is premature. Personally I would not at this stage pronounce a final judgment on the results of the Hankow Agreement. Obviously that Agreement, signed in good faith on our side and, as we believe, by Mr. Chen also, must be judged by the results it produces.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Lab.—Hull): Is the Foreign Secretary aware that at Hankow we are pursuing a policy of negotiation and in Shanghai another policy, and that we are endangering our people in Hankow by our policy in Shanghai?—*Manchester Guardian.*

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Heath was proved in the course of the trial of the charges brought against him to have been the intermediary between Woodward and Husar in arranging for the disappearance and destruction of an official book of records of the case heard against Woodward in Bushire.

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What Happened In Kiukiang Last January

BY ARTHUR RANSOME

Staff Correspondent, Manchester Guardian

Arthur Ransome, staff correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, made a tour of the Yangtsze Valley last February, The following are extracts from articles contributed to his paper.

KIUKIANG is a town on the right bank of the river, with a background of the magnificent Lushan mountains. Here at Kiukiang, for the first time on the way up the river, the war atmosphere was unmistakable and aggressive. There was no getting away from it. After this place was occupied by the Southerners there was some looting in the Concession and demonstrations of anti-British feeling. The two big compounds of the rival oil companies were flying no flags, though they seemed to be unharmed, as far as one could judge from the river. It was still considered unsafe to be on shore. Officials and business men were living afloat. At the same time some foreigners had refused to leave Kuling and were living high up in the hills, well beyond reach of any protection that could be given them by the naval vessels in the river. As we arrived on February 8, beside the Chinese sampans that came out to collect Chinese passengers a motor sampan and a motor-boat came out to meet us. and a guard of marines, fully armed, was put on board. We might indeed have been in a country with which we were at war. Our captain was asked why he had brought any Chinese passengers above Nanking. We anchored in the middle of the river and as dusk fell watched Kiukiang lighted up. It was possible in the dark to see where the British Concession began and ended, because there were no lights in it but a few street lamps along the Bund, whereas in the rest of the town there were lights in the windows of the houses. At Kiukiang. unlike Hankow, there had been some looting, and the Kiukiang agreement will contain a clause concerning compensation to be paid by the Nationalist Government.

Saluted by Chinese Police

On the way down river from Hankow I reached Kiukiang before dark. when some members of the Kiukiang municipality came on broad and invited me to dinner on the Kiangwo to hear their point of view. I was told that no Britishers were living ashore. but while going in the launch to the Kiangwo I said I would like to have a look at the Concession. They very kindly took me around it. The first thing that I noticed was that, though it was considered unsafe for foreigners to live ashore, our party were everywhere respectfully saluted by the Chinese police. Our guides said regretfully that most of the looting had been cleared up, but they had been able to preserve two specimen rooms. These rooms had been sealed, and the seals had been broken only the day before to show Mr. O' Malley when he came down the river. These rooms were in the China Inland Mission. The looting seemed to me to have been very inefficient: floors covered with torn-up papers which must have been left by foreigners while preparing to leave; corners of sofas and matresses ripped up. the sort of places in which Chinese would expect people to hide their money. Very little furniture was broken, and no windows, not even a very ugly ostentatious hanging lamp which I should have liked to smash myself. We walked all around the little Concession, and afterwards went off to its floating substitute, the Kiangwo, where we dined. Afterwards, with the help of eye-witnesses, I compiled the following diary of events of Kiukiang.

November 4.—The Northern troops collapse. The first news of a coming change was the sight of flying Northerners seeking sanctuary in the Concession, some swimming the creek. They threw away their rifles, their coats, and in some instances took off everything, and on going into the Concession ran on completely naked, and kept on running until they dropped, pursued by the Concession policemen, shocked by this offence against the public decency.

On this day the ships put landing parties ashore. The Americans were first, followed half an hour later by British, French, and Japanese. After a few days all the landing parties were withdrawn except the British, who lived in the Municipal Buildings and had their own cookhouse ashore. Barricades were put up of sandbags (already prepared) and barbed-wire entanglements. Trenches were dug, and during the next three weeks or so these defences were steadily improved. Of the four gates of the Concession two were kept closed, This was done in order to make it easier to control the influx of Northern soldiers, who in their frantic haste to get away were swarming on to the hulks in greater numbers than the steamers, which were taking them down river, could accommodate. It was arranged with the Southerners that when a steamer had room for a certain number

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Staff Correspondent, Manchester Guardian

Arthur Ransome, staff correspondent of the Manchester Guardidn, made a tour of the Yangtsze Valley last February, The following are extracts from articles contributed to his paper.

KIUKIANG is a town on the right bank of the river, with a background of the magnificent Lushan mountains. Here at Kiukiang, for the first time on the way up the river, the war atmosphere was unmistakable and aggressive. There was no getting away from it. After this place was occupied by the Southerners there was some looting in the Concession and demonstrations of anti-British feeling. The two big compounds of the rival oil companies were flying no flags, though they seemed to be unharmed, as far as one could judge from the river. It was still considered unsafe to be on shore. Officials and business men were living afloat. At the same time some foreigners had refused to leave Kuling and were living high up in the hills, well beyond reach of any protection that could be given them by the naval vessels in the river. As we arrived on February 8, beside the Chinese sampans that came out to collect Chinese passengers a motor sampan and a motor-boat came out to meet us. and a guard of marines, fully armed, was put on board. We might indeed have been in a country with which we were at war. Our captain was asked why he had brought any Chinese passengers above Nanking. We anchored in the middle of the river and as dusk fell watched Kiukiang lighted up. It was possible in the dark to see where the British Concession began and ended, because there were no lights in it but a few street lamps along the Bund, whereas in the rest of the town there were lights in the windows of the houses. At Kiukiang. unlike Hankow, there had been some looting, and the Kiukiang agreement will contain a clause concerning compensation to be paid by the Nationalist Government.

Saluted by Chinese Police

On the way down river from Hankow I reached Kiukiang before dark. when some members of the Kiukiang municipality came on broad and invited me to dinner on the Kiangwo to hear their point of view. I was told that no Britishers were living ashore. but while going in the launch to the Kiangwo I said I would like to have a look at the Concession. They very kindly took me around it. The first thing that I noticed was that, though it was considered unsafe for foreigners to live ashore, our party were everywhere respectfully saluted by the Chinese police. Our guides said regretfully that most of the looting had been cleared up, but they had been able to preserve two specimen rooms. These rooms had been sealed, and the seals had been broken only the day before to show Mr. O' Malley when he came down the river. These rooms were in the China Inland Mission. The looting seemed to me to have been very inefficient: floors covered with torn-up papers which must have been left by foreigners while preparing to leave; corners of sofas and matresses ripped up. the sort of places in which Chinese would expect people to hide their money. Very little furniture was broken, and no windows, not even a very ugly ostentatious hanging lamp which I should have liked to smash myself. We walked all around the little Concession, and afterwards went off to its floating substitute, the Kiangwo, where we dined. Afterwards, with the help of eye-witnesses, I compiled the following diary of events of Kiukiang.

November 4.—The Northern troops collapse. The first news of a coming change was the sight of flying Northerners seeking sanctuary in the Concession, some swimming the creek. They threw away their rifles, their coats, and in some instances took off everything, and on going into the Concession ran on completely naked, and kept on running until they dropped, pursued by the Concession policemen, shocked by this offence against the public decency.

On this day the ships put landing parties ashore. The Americans were first, followed half an hour later by British, French, and Japanese. After a few days all the landing parties were withdrawn except the British, who lived in the Municipal Buildings and had their own cookhouse ashore. Barricades were put up of sandbags (already prepared) and barbed-wire entanglements. Trenches were dug, and during the next three weeks or so these defences were steadily improved. Of the four gates of the Concession two were kept closed. This was done in order to make it easier to control the influx of Northern soldiers, who in their frantic haste to get away were swarming on to the hulks in greater numbers than the steamers, which were taking them down river, could accommodate. It was arranged with the Southerners that when a steamer had room for a certain number

of defeated Northerners the authorities should be informed, after which that quantity of Northerners should be let through. What happened was that if 100 were to go the Southerners would round up about 50, and another 350 would collect independently, and all try to crowd through together. Closing the gates made the business of control much easier.

The First Riot.

Jan. 3.—The Customs seized some smuggled charcoal. A row began between Customs coolies and coolies who sympathised with the smugglers. Some of these were on one side of our barbed wire and some on the other, so that, without wishing it, we were impeding a private Chinese fight. The sailors on shore then tried to disperse the crowd, where upon apparently both parties of coolies dropped their private squabble and began to throw stones at the sailors. The Consul asked the Chinese authorities for assistance, and Chinese military police cleared up the trouble. This row lasted two hours in all.

Jan. 4.—News of the Hankow riot reached Kiukiang. At nine o'clock in the morning the steamer Tuckwo came in from Hankow. and her captain (Captain Campbell) on his own initiative suggested waiting a day in case evacuation should seem necessary, because they had room for 100 passengers. The Consul wired to Rear Admiral Cameron on the Bee at Hankow, who concurred, and that night the British women and children were evacuated, with their baggage, without incident.

Jan. 6.—Trouble began owing to Russian wife of harbor master, who suddenly decided to evacuate, and did so at 2 p.m.—that is to say, in broad day-light.—using Customs coolies to carry her luggage down to the Customs sampan. Other coolies, conceiving that they were being done out of a job (most of the minor rows begin owing to coolies squabbling over baggage-shifting), attacked them. Two English Customs officials were accompanying the Customs coolie knocked down one of them, fell on the top of him, grappled him, and tried to eat his cheek, The other Englishman smote the coolie a blow with a truncheon, whereupon the coolie, with great presence of mind, immediately pretended to be dead. By this time there was a big crowd on the foreshore of the Bund, and the Englishmen were rescued by the sailors and members of the Kiukiang Defence Force, armed with the handles of trenching tools.

Chinese Crowds in the Concession.

At this point H. M. S. Wyvern, off Butterfield and Squires's hulk, let off two maroons. These rockets arrested the attention of all the Chinese, and the two explosions cleared the Bund in a few seconds, the Chinese thinking that firing had begun. They all rushed out of the Concession, energetically but peaceable encouraged to do so by the Kiukiang Defence Force. In three minutes the Concession was empty. When the panic subsided and the Chinese realised that they had been running away from nothing but fireworks a large crowd collected again outside the barbed wire; a few were inside examining the "dead man." This man, I was told, was subsequently examined at the hospital, and found to be suffering from nothing but a bruise. He may, however, have been stunned.

In any case he was the only Chinese who did not run away from the rockets. The gates of the Concession were now closed, and while they were being closed two Chinese soldiers, who were being shut out, fired two shots through them that did no damage. The attitude of the crowd became extremely threatening. At 4 p. m. T. V. Soong, the Nationalist Minister of Finance, who happened to be there on business, seeing the danger, ordered General Ho to bring troops in. General Ho promised there should be no more trouble, and left a number of military police, who are generally said to have behaved very well. The crowd had beaten down the barbed wire, and came about one hundred yards into the Concession, where the Chinese military police held them with drawn pistols, but without firing. The British sailors were drawn up at some little distance along the Bund. After dark the crowd removed the Bund gate. The other gates were all shut, and no attempt was made to attack them. The evening was quiet and was spent in fraternising by the British sailors and Chinese military police, each side being much interested in the other's uniforms and weapons.

Jan. 7.—Curious incident in the early morning. At 5 a. m. men on the Wyvern saw and heard a large crowd just outside the Concession. A thick mist rose and hid the crowd, and the noise presently died down. This crowd was neither seen nor heard by anybody in the Concession, although most people were awake and busied in packing their silver and other valuables.

No arrangements had been made for billeting the Chinese military police, and during the night all except two had drifted away. The British Consul telephoned for a fresh supply. The Concession gates were not opened as usual because of the absence of police. At 9 a. m. four more military police arrived; this gave two for each gate, and the gates were opened.

Evacuation.

10 a.m.—Large crowds walking peaceably in the Concession, doing no harm but expressing their feelings by ostentatious expectoration. The Consul ordered the British to concentrate in two houses, one the Consulate and the other a house behind Jardine's hulk. This was done without incident, thus leaving most of the houses untenanted except by the servants.

Immediately, and perhaps naturally, looting of a tentative kind began. Chinese went into the deserted municipal building and stole some police uniforms and smashed some furniture. Soldiers of the 6th and 7th Armies were going to the back doors of the houses, being let in by terrified servants, and rummaging about for any valuables that had been left. It was safe but unpleasant to walk about. The military police, who belong to the 2nd Independent Division, did their best to stop the looting, but could not do much with men who did not belong to their division or even to the same army. At noon they closed the gates, letting people out but not letting them in. Rain came, everbody hurried home, and the Concession gradually cleared. At 3 15 the Chinese company commander, with 100 men, arrived at the Consulate. He went round the Concession with two Englishmen, and on meeting a soldier with any loot took it from him and solemnly handed it to the Englishmen, who, as the loot was usually a scrap of curtain or other useless junk, dumped it in the gutter. This Chinese officer tore the regimental badges from some of the pilfering soldiers, and made one at least kneel down while be took a running kick at him.

A Good-Tempered Bombardment.

January 7, 4 p.m.

The Consulate was evacuated. The British sailors and the several civilians in the Consulate helped to remove all valuables, and this evacuation must have looked very like a departure of more efficient looters than the Chinese. Sailors were loaded up with silver mugs, &c. Everyone carried something so that when the Consul had the flag hauld down from the flagstaff there was grave difficulty in presenting arms, solved dy dumping the stuff in the garden and picking it up again.

General Ho gave the Consul a certificate that he (General Ho) would thenceforth be responsible for everything. Such pilfering as happened later was done by stealth. It is curious to observe that at 6 p. m. of that day a party of fifteen, two men and the rest women and cildren, who had come down to Duff's Farm from Kuling, came through the Chinese street into the Concession and down to the ships without molestation of any kind.

That, briefly, is the story of what happened at Kiukiang, given to me on H. M. S. Woodcock after dinner by eyewitnesses. Since January 7 the men of the British colony had been living on the Kiangwo. On February 24 they were still living there. There seemed to be some indignation among them because I happened to describe the looting as less efficient than it might have been. There was also considerable disapproval of official British policy. A message was sent to me in the Woodcock to say that I was expected in the Wild Swan. There in he wardroom a hot but good-tempered reception had beent prepared. I was put in a chair, reinforced with excellent navy rum, and subjected to a concentrated bombardment from all sides. I did my best in the unaccustomed role of a defender of Sir Austen Chamberlain, but at last asked whether they had similarly bombarded his official representative, Mr. O'Malley, who had been there the previous night. They said regretfully that he had insisted on going to bed. That, I suppose, was how it was that they had so much ammunition to waste on me.

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Who's Who in China

Mr. Yuan Ke-wen
袁克文字豹岑

Mr. Yuan Ke-wen, the second son of the late President Yuan Shih-kai, was born at Hsiang Chen Hsien, Honan Province, in 1890. He received his early education under private tutors at home and was distinguished in literary arts since his youth.

Owing to his father's high official rank, Mr. Yuan was given the rank of "Ying Sheng" by the Imperial Ching Court. And with that rank he became a Senior Secretary in the Board of Justice in 1908. However, as he was not much inclined to political life, he resigned from this post and returned to Honan where he devoted himself to literary research for many years.

Upon the outbreak of the First Revolution in 1911, when Mr. Yuan was at his home in Honan, he rendered much service in influencing his father to co-operate with revolutionary leaders.

After the inauguration off the Republic, the ex-President Li Yuan-hung, then Tutu of Hupeh Province, recommended Mr. Yuan to the Central Government for high meritious reward. In 1914, Mr. Yuan was appointed Co-Director of the Foo Chung Corporation. In the same near, he became a historiographer in the Ching Dynasty Historiographical Bureau in Peking, which position he has held for many years.

Mr. Yuan is considered one of the most famous writers in the Chinese light literature world of today. His writings are popularly read. He is an artist, particularly as an amateur in "Kung Chu" plays. He is also noted as a collector of coins on which subject he has wrien several books which have been published. His literary name is "Han Yun" 寒雲主人 by which he is known throughout China.

Having spent several years in Shanghai, where he devoted his time entirely to literary arts, Mr. Yuan is now making his home at Tientsin, staying with his aged mother.

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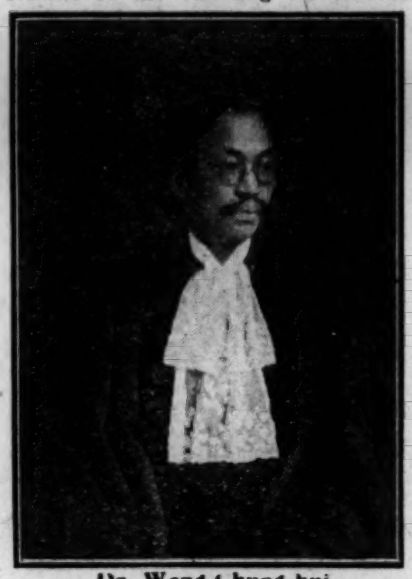
The Problem of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking Government

BY J. B. P.

Probably the most important development in respect to Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to establish a moderate Kuomintang Government as Nanking was the departure last Saturday of Dr. C. C. Wu, former Mayor of Canton and Dr. Wang Chung-hui, former Minister of Justice at Peking, for Nanking. Although it has been known for some time that Dr. C. C. Wu had been offered the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nanking Government, the departure of Dr. Wang Chung-hui for Nanking caused considerable local surprise. Dr. Wang Chung-hui, who is a member of the Kuomintang, is China's best known jurist, having won fame in legal circles over the world through his translation, while a student in the United States, of the German code into the English language. This monumental work was accomplished while Dr. Wang was a student at Yale University at which time he also served as one of the editors of the *Journal* of the American Bar Association. Dr. Wang has served in various capacities in the Peking Government, including Minister of Justice and was one of China's delegates to the Washington Conference. Later he was appointed as China's delegate to the Hague Court and last year served as chief of the Chinese delegation on the International Commission which investigated the question of Extraterritoriality. He resigned from the Peking Government about two months ago nnd came to Shanghai.



Dr. Wang Chung-hui

First of Consequence to Go to Nanking

Dr. C. C. Wu and Dr. Wang Chung-hui, aside from Hu Han-ming, former Civil Governor of Kwangtung Province under Sun Yat-sen, have been about the only Chinese of national political consequence, who have gone to Nanking, but now that they have gone, the effect has been to create more confidence in the ability of Nanking to stand against the Hankow faction of the Kuomintang. The strongest charge which has been made against Gen. Chiang Kai-shek has been on the grounds that he is merely trying to establish a new military dictatorship and that Gen. Chiang's propaganda against the Hankow faction is not on the grounds that Hankow is dominated by the 'Communists' but that Gen. Chiang does not relish having a lot of civilian officials and politicians dabbling in his military campaign and especially controlling his finances. There cannot of course be any grounds for the criticism which has been leveled at Gen. Chiang on the grounds that he has had dealings with the so-called foreign 'imperialists' for all of his pronouncements on the score of the 'unequal' treaties have been as radical as any member of the Hankow faction could wish. But on the other hand there is little questioning the fact that Gen. Chiang has been influened considerably by the Cninese commercial and financial interests at Shanghai who have been frightened to death at the increasing dominance of the labor factions in the Kuomintang. Shanghai being the industrial and financial metropolis of China is naturally conservative and the development of labor domination here as has prevailed at Hankow for some time, would be disastrous to Chinese industries as well as foreign.

Can Hankow Be Starved Out?

Thus far there have not been any military clashes of consequence between the Hankow and Nanking factions, but Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese commercial and financial interests at Shanghai have been able to seriously embarass Hankow through the economic blockade which has been established. A *Reuter* message from Hankow dated May 6, but which was not circulated to the Shanghai press until May 9, having evidently come down by mail, stated that the industrial situation in Hankow was little short of desperate with thousands of laborers out of work and with very little rice coming into the area from the outside. The number of laborers out of work in Hankow was given as 5,000. However, despite the large number out of work, there have been few 'incidents' due to strict repressive measures which the Government has enforced. The town is plastered with posters containing "Eleven Commandments" which warn the laboring classes against any sort of anti-foreignism. According to the *Reuter* report there are now 36 foreign warcraft anchored along the Hankow Bund, three of them being of the crusier class (2 British and 1 American) with their guns all turned on the various Nationalist Government offices.

The Military Situation

While there have been no military clashes of note between the Hankow and Nanking factions, there are rumors in circulation of impending military movements, one being that a 'red' army of Hunanese is moving from Hunan province toward Kwangtung Province and that another 'red' army is moving from Kiangsi Province toward Foochow in Fukien Province. There have also been rumors of movements of 'red' troops down river from Hankow toward Kiukiang for the purpose of attacking Chiang Kai-shek, but thus far they are nothing but rumors.

Philip K. C. Tyau

On the other hand both the Hankow and Nanking factions have announced a continuation of the campaign against Chang Tso-ling and his lieutenant, Chang Chung-chang in Shantung province. Chiang Kai-shek is supposed to have announced a general offensive against Chang Chung-chang at Pukow and against Sun Chuan-fang at Yang-chow and other places in Northern Kiangsu along the Grand Canal. Gen. Tang Shen-tse, commander of the Nationalist forces has mobilized some 60,000 troops along the Hupeh-Honan border to prevent the further advance southward of the Fengtien forces which have reached central Honan. *Reuters* reports from Peking constantly tell of Fengtien successes in Honan and of the defeat of Gen. Chin Yun-ao's forces, Gen. Chin having formerly been under Wu Pei-fu, but now cooperating with the Nationalists. It was also stated in one of these reports that the Fengtien forces had intercepted a large shipment of ammunition which was being shipped up the Han River from Hankow for the use of Feng Yu-hsiang's troops in Shensi in order to enable Feng to take the offensive, but this report has not been corroborated. It has been reported in Shanghai that Feng, the Christian General, is on the move by three separate routes, one being by way of Kalgan and the Peking-Suiyuan Railway, another across Shansi in cooperation with the troops of Gen. Yen

(Continued on page VI)

Men and Events

Mr. and Mr. Joel Black and family of Shanghai have departed for the United States. Mr. Black has been engaged in the architectural and construction business in Shanghai for several years.

Randall Gould, manager of the North China Bureau of the *United Press*, is in Shanghai at present with his bride, who was formerly Miss Cook of *The China Press* staff. Mr. and Mrs. Gould are staying at the Astor House Hotel.

Herndon Goforth, American consul at Sao Paulo, Brazil, was stabbed to death, with a knife thrust March 12, by a fellow countryman named David Ward. The incident took place at the Consulate following a quarrel incidental to a business matter. Ward was arrested by the Brazilian authorities.

The Dutch cruiser Sumatra, the personnel of which had been assisting in the policing of Shanghai, was withdrawn during the week and proceeded to the Dutch East Indies. A disptach from the Hague stated that the Dutch government did not consider the presence of the cruiser to be any longer necessary.

The eighth anniversary of the students' movement was celebrated in Hangchow May 4. Addresses were delivered in the Educational Hall in the morning and also at a large gathering in the open air in the public playground in the afternoon. Several girl students with bobbed hair were among the speakers.

Count Sforza, former Minister for Foreign Affairs for Italy, who has been visiting in Shanghai for some time has departed for the United States where he will lecture this summer at the Williamstown Conference, Williamstown, Mass. Count Sforza once served as Italian Minister in Peking and also as Ambassador in Paris.

Bruno Schwartz, editor and publisher of the *Hankow Herald* and correspondent for the *Associated Press* in Hankow, who has been in Shanghai for several days purchasing machinery for his plant, has returned to Hankow. Mr. Schwartz is installing a commercial printing department in addition to his newspaper plant.

Dr. Herbert P. Ramsey, formerly connected with the medical department of Soochow University, will depart shortly for Washington, D. C., where he will take up the practise of medicine. Dr Ramsey, with his wife and children, are at present living at No. 1 Young Allen Terrace, Shanghai. They do not expect to return to China.

The Dollar Steamship Line announces that the s.s. President Lincoln will sail for Seattle May 21. This change in the schedule is made possible because of the fast trip across the Pacific by the s.s. President Grant, which carried U. S. Marines to Manila.

Ralph E. Diffendorfer, corresponding secretary for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, who has been in China for some time investigating conditions, departed from Shanghai for Peking this week. Mr. Diffendorfer has been in Canton, Swatow, Foochow and Amoy. He is accompanied by his secretary, Walter Miller.

The March-April number of the *Meifoo Shield*, house organ of the Far Eastern staff of the Standard Oil Company of New York contains on the front cover an excellent reproduction in colors of the Laughing Buddha. Among the articles are the following: "History and Romance of the Petroleum Industry," "Socony on the Salonica Front," by F. C. Ellis; "The Mato of Ten Thousand Flowers," by Caldwell Harris; and a description of the new Socony building in Yokohama. Three are also a number of pictures and news notes about the Far Eastern staff.

The Y. M. C. A. premises at Tsinanfu were raided April 26 by the military authorities acting under orders of Chang Chung-chang, Fengtien tupan of Shantung. The foreigners connected with the Y. M. C. A. work at Tsinanfu withdrew shortly after the Nanking incident, leaving a Chinese staff in charge. The raid took place on the day following the departure of the foreign staff. In this connection it may be stated that it has been for some time the policy of the Y. M. C. A. organization to transfer the titles of Y. M. C. A. properties in China to the local committee of Chinese in Shanghai. There are only a few Y. M. C. A. properties in China the title for which is still held by the New York committee.

Following close upon the announcement made last week that the compradore of the Peking branch of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank had absconded and that a warrant for his arrest was asked comes the announcement from Amoy that the compradore of the branch there of the Netherlands-India Bank had embezzled Mex. $700,000. In connection with the Peking defalcations the question has arisen whether the Bank is to be held responsible for funds deposited by Chinese banks. Other events in connection with banking difficulties in China during the week were that a Chinese clerk in the employ of the Chinese-American bank in Shanghai was oidnapped, and that the branches in China of the Bank of kaiwan have reopened, after being closed for several weeks Twing to financial difficulties in Japan.

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From the Chinese Press

May 2—*Toho* report states that Fengtien troops in Honan occupy Hsiping and Chin Yun-peng's troops retreat in confusion, but two or three divisions of Honanese still occupy Hsinyang—Chang Tso-ling, Chang Chung-chang and Sun Chuan-fang warn Shanghai merchants and bankers against advancing loan of $30,000,000 to Chiang Kai-shek—10,000 laborers attempt demonstration at Foochow but are dispersed by soldiery and heavy rain—Gen. Cheng Chien reported to have left Kiukiang for Hankow—Laborers seize police station at Kuling obtaining considerable supply of rifles and munitions—3,000 troops belonging to 27th regiment arrive at Kiukiang—Chiang Kai-shek's forces rout troops of 3rd army under Gen. Chu Pei-teh at Matangchen near Kiukiang—Rumored that 'rignt wing' Kuomintang troops have occupied Nanchang causing the 26th army to retreat toward Hunan—Nanking continues to be disturbed with bombardment across the river—*Kuo Wen* report states that Chang Tso-ling has made an agreement with Yen Hsi-shen of Shansi, the arrangement providing for Chang to remit the sum of $150,000 monthly to Yen—Chinese and Belgians prepare to begin conference for rendition of Belgian Concession in Tientsin—Reported that Wang Ching-hui of Hankow Central Executive is serious ill and has gone to a hospital—Situation at Hankow returns to 'normal' according to *Kuo Wen*—Nanking political conference appoints Wang Pei-chung as Acting Minister of Finance and Chow Pei-tsung as managing director of the Central Bank of Shanghai—Kiangsu Provincial Committee assumes office—*Kuo Wen* states that negotiations between Sun Chuan-fang and Chiang Kai-shek resumed with better prospects than previously—Chang Tso-ling reported to have approached Pao Kuei-ching to form a new Cabinet but Pao reported cold on subject; reported that Chang Tso-ling becoming cold toward Wellington Koo who may not be able to retain office as Foreign Minister much longer—Gen. Bei Tsung-chi, Nationalist Commander at Shanghai, who is now in Peking has announced a gigantic celebration in Shanghai to celebrate the capture of Shanghai and has appropriated $1,500 for the purpose—Gen. Chao Hsiang-lu, commander of the Shantung air squadron reported to have decamped with all other funds and Gen. Chang Chung-chang has appointed Gen. Yin Ji-sung to the position of commander of the air squadron.

May 3—Hankow Government states that owing to the embargo on silver that future documentary bills involving payment for exports must be arranged through the Nationalist Government—Japanese residents of Hankow urge stronger policy on part of their government in China owing to the 'red' activities in Central China—119 Japanese refugees arrive in Hankow from Chengtu, Chungking and Wanhsien—*Toho* report states that Japanese Minister is disgusted with his inability to reconcile the divergent views of America and the European Powers on the Nanking incident, stating that America does not even consider a second Note necessary—May Day passes off quietly in Hangchow with only 500 laborers attending meeting owing to police surveillance—Fire in Shuang Chiao wireless station in Peking does $5,000 damage—Mrs. Borodin and three Russian diplomatic couriers who were kidnapped at Nanking by White Russians in the employ of Gen. Chang Chung-chang and have since been held prisoners in Tsinanfu, have been taken to Peking for trial—Reported that 300,000 attend May Day celebration in Hankow and speeches delivered by Hsu Chien, Teng Yen-ta and by Earl Browder, American, Tom Mann, English, Droit, French and Nishida, Japanese socialist and labor representatives; demonstrations prohibited in foreign Concession for fear of anti-foreign incidents—300 members of various government committees meet in Hankow and following addresses by Sun Fo, Eugene Chen, Tan Yen-kai and others adopt resolution supporting the Nationalist Government and urging continuance of the revolution—Dr. C. C. Wu, who has been offered the post of Foreign Minister of the Nanking Government agrees to go to Nanking to attend conference of the political Council, but does not indicate whether he will accept the post of Foreign Minister—Gen. Chin Yun-peng again reported active in reference to the formation of a new Peking Cabinet—Civil Governor of Chihli prohibits all shipments of coal to the South—*Kuo Wen* states that Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi has supplied Wu Pei-fu with $100,000 in cash and 1,000 bags of flour but still Marshal Wu refuses to come to Shansi—Imperial Palace Committee in Peking protests the reported plan to dispose of ancient Chinese musical instruments which have been pledged to a local bank for a loan of $270,000 by the Boy Emperor Pu Yi—Gen. Yeh Kai-hsin notifies Chiang Kai-shek that he has reached Anking, Anhwei and reported that Chiang Kai-shek practically has completed arrangements for his Northern advance—Nationalist troops in Chinkiang reported as 8,000—Gen. Wang Shu-chang assumes command of 10th Fengtien army in Honan—Hankow Government plans to float loan of $2,000,000 for municipal improvements—Chang Tso-ling has not set date for trial of Russians arrested in Soviet Embassy raid and has refused attorneys to appear in the case—Gen. Yu Tsung resigns from command of 10th Fengtien army in Honan.

May 4—*Kuo Wen* reports that 20,000 attend student mass meeting in Shanghai in commemoration of the May 4 anniversary and pass numerous resolutions urging return of educational instutions to China; that educational funds be made independent; that Nanking should attack the 'false' Hankow Government; that Wang Ching-wei be warned against participating in the Hankow Government; that Borodin should be dismissed and HseChien and Teng Yen-ta be executed—*Kuo Wen* reports that a number of ex-Peking officials now residing in Dairen including Tuan Chi-jui, Tsao Kun, Li Yuan-hung, Wang Shi-tsung, Chao Er-shen, Sun Pao-chi, Chang Shouchen and Wang Chuan-yuan, have started a movement to bring about a reconciliation between North and South—Nationalist airplanes drop bombs in Yangchow and destroy elementary school wounding students—Chiang Kai-shek issues orders to all commanders to extend protection to silk farmers and dealers—Compradore of British Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in Peking absconds with $1,400,000, causing serious financial situation in Peking with closure of large native bank of which the Compradore, Teng Chun-chiang was managing director; *Kuo Wen* reports that Bank has refused to return deposits of from $500,000 to $800,000 made on the day of the Compradore's departure, including $72,000 belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was being remitted abroad for payment of salaries of consuls and ministers—*Kuo Wen* states that prior to Yang Yu-ting's departure for Mukden that Wellington Koo had tried to induce him to intercede with Chang Tso-ling about a new Cabinet, but that Yang had refused—Canton Government send troops to Hunan border to suppress Communists who have been joining with peasant-laborers in support of the Hankow Government—Board of Foreign Commissioners of Foreign Missions in Peking votes in favor of American policy of noninterference in China and sends delegates to the United States; also passes resolution deploring bombardment of Nanking—British B & S. steamer Ninghai fired on near Tungchow with rifles and heavy gun, one shell exploding aboard and causing considerable damage but no casualties—*Toho* report states that Soviet troops numbering 1,000 arrive at Chita and that 700 more have arrived at Boijia and Guria and that Soviet authorities are organizing an 'Asiatic Cavalry Corps for Outer Mongolia and North Manchuria—Chinese compradore of Netherlands Indische Handelsbank at Amoy reported to have embezzled $1,000,000—Reported that Chin Yun-ao has asked Chiang Kai-shek for permission to move his troops from Honan into Anhwei, but that Gen. Tang Shen-tse at Hankow objects—Reported that Chiang Kai-shek planning general Northern offensive against Gen. Chang Chung-chang before May 10.

May 5—Food prices in Hankow increase 30 percent, owing to pressure of the Farmers Association and decreased planting—Nationalist troops which have been at the town of Taiping in Anhwei, return to Wuhu; dissatisfaction develops among the troops and people over the new Hankow currency—*Kuo Wen* report claims that Nationalists have captured Changchow on Grand Canal north of Chinkiang—Nationalist airplane from Nanking drops bombs on Hsuchowfu—Delegate from Gov. Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi arrives in Nanking for conference with Chiang Kai-shek—Ankuochun official in Tientsin states there is no immediate danger of the Russians dispatching troops to China—Chang Tso-ling calls on British Minister in Peking regarding the retrocession of the Tientsin British Concession; British want Chinese to guarantee loan of six million dollars outstanding against Concession—Peking drops more than 100 employes of the Foreign office owing to shortage of funds to pay salaries—Nanking Government appoints Generals Chin Yun-ao and Fan Chung-hsiu to look after the military situation in Honan, both of whom have delegates in Nanking conferring with Chiang Kai-shek—Nanking Government decides to appoint a Mayor at Shanghai—Nanking Government decides that all departmental ministers shall be under the control of the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek who shall have control of all forces, land, sea and air—Gen. Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung abolishes propaganda department and transfers Gen. Ho Hai-ming to the command of the Shantung reserves—Representatives of Chinese business bodies attend mass meeting in honor of Sun Yat-sen—Nationalist military and naval commanders at Nanking issue declaration urging support of the Nationalist Government at Nanking; nullification of

(Continued on page VI)

New Books of Interest in the Far East

The Casuarina Tree.

By W. Somerset Maughan. New York: George H. Doran Co.

These are stories concerning life in the Malay States, of a character similar to those written on China some years previously under the title of "On a Chinese Screen." Mr. Maughan has the knack of writing stories very true to life. In fact, they are much too true to life for the comfort of many Britishers living in this part of the world, and on many occasions protests have been made that the author, after having been entertained and given an insight into the private history of his guests, has been ingrate enough to take them as characters in his stories and to lampoon them. That was particularly the case of a story which Mr. Maughan wrote about Hongkong several years age. This attitude of a certain part of the Far Eastern British public has led the author on numerous occasions to explain that his stories, while intended to be typical, are never meant to be taken as chronicles of fact. Through many of them runs the theme of the complications which arise through the white male's social relations with the female of the native race. It is an old theme, not peculiar to any part of the world. Whether the white man comes into the black or brown man's country as in Asia or Africa, or whether the black or brown man (or woman) is brought into the white man's country as in North America, there is always a certain percentage of mating, with its incidental complications. Mr. Maughan's stories bring out what some of these complications are as applied to the Malay archipelago.

M. C. P.

Stories of Modern Chinese Life

Plum Blossoms and Blue Incense by James W. Bennett and Soong Kwen-ling. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd.

This is a collection of nine short stories, many of which have already appeared in some well known American magazines. The first story, Plum Blossoms and Blue Incense is a delightful piece, combining the floral and mystical beauties of the land of Amito Buddha. Wing's Interrupted Journey is a very interesting story and ranks among the best short stories published in China in English. The Obliterated Buddha is a highly amusing tale of a pawn shop manager who catches a swindler in his own net. Dominant Desire and the Mercy of Kuanyin are charming tales which linger long in the memory after reading. The whole collection is very interesting, and as each story depicts a phase of modern Chinese life the book is sure to interest readers abroad.

The book is rightly dedicated to Dr. H. F. MacNair of the St. John's University, whose interest in Chinese culture is too well known to need mention.

H. P. Shastri

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8 Yih Yuen Road
Hankow, China

In the American Consular Court for the District of Shanghai, China.

In re Estate of THOMAS FRANCIS DOYLE, Deceased.

Estate No. 84
NOTICE
Filed April 26, 1927
Shanghai, China
JAMES M. HOWES
Clerk of the U.S. Court for China

Pursuant to an Order of said Court, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the estate of THOMAS FRANCIS DOYLE, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned, on or before October 30th, 1927, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payment of the same in due course to the undersigned.

LUCY DOYLE

Address:
c/o Savoy Hotel
Shanghai.

American Gold Bond Quotations

Name of Security	Coupon Rate %	Date of Maturity			Sale Price May 5th.	Sale Price May 5th.	Approx. Yield to Maturity May 5th.
Czecho-Slovak Govt. Sinking Fund Loan...	8	Oct.	1,	1952	108¾	108½	7.25
Czecho Slovak Government Ext. S.F. Loan..	7½	Oct.	1,	1945	105⅝	105⅝	6.95
Republic of Chile S. F. Loan	7	Nov	1,	1942	100½	99⅞	7.00
Argentine Government Ext. S. F. Loan.....	6	May.	1,	1960	99¾	99	6.05
Kingdom of Italy, Ext. S. F. Loan.....	7	Dec.	1,	1951	96½	95⅞	7.35
Austrian Government S. F. Guaranteed Loan..	7	June	1,	1943	104½	103	6.70
French Government Ext. S. F. Loan.....	8	Sep.	15,	1945	100	110	7.00
Japanese Govt. (£)	5	1907/1947			78¼	76½	7.25
German Governments S. F. Loan.....	7	Oct.	1,	1949	107¾	107¼	6.40
Deutsche Renten Bank 1st Lien Farm Loan	7	Sept.	15,	1950	102¾	102¾	6.75
Saxon Public Works Inc. 1st Mtge. Guaranteed S. F. Loan....	7	Feb.	1.	1945	103	102	6.80
German General Electric Co. S.F. Loan....	7	Jan.	15,	1945	104⅝	105	6.50
Finnish Guaranteed Municipalities S. F. Loan	6½	Oct.	1,	1954	98½	99½	6.55
Chicago Rapid Transit 1st. & Refunding Mtge.	6½	July	1,	1944	98½	98½	6.65
Northern Ohio Power & Light Co. Debentures .	6½	Jan.	1,	1941	98½	98½	6.65
Cuban Domin. Sugar Co. 1st Lien S. F. Loan...	7½	Nov.	1,	1944	100½	100¾	7.40
Camaguey Sugar Co. 1st. Mtge. S. F. Loan	7	Oct.	15,	1942	100½	102½	6.75
Pennsylvania Dixie Cement Corpn. Cumulative	7	Pfd. Stock			100	99½	7.04
Victor Talking Manchine Company Cum. Prior..	7	Pfd. Stock			98	98¼	7.12
Willys Overland Co.....	7	Pfd. Stock			91½	91½	7.65

The National City Company, The National City Bank Building, No. 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai, China.

These quotations are subject to confirmation by the National City Company of New York.

Shanghai Exchange for Week Ending Wednesday, May 11, 1927

By Maitland, Fearon and Brand

Exchange:—Bar silver prices in London have improved to 26 1/16d. spot and 25 7/8d. two months forward delivery, these prices are respectively 1/8d. and 1/16d. above those ruling this day last week. The official rate on London remains steady and unchanged at 2/6 1/4d The New York silver quotation is 56 1/8d.

The market continues in a state of inactivity, and prospects for any immediate improvement in trade appear to be remote.

The measures which the Japanese Government have adopted to ameliorate the financial position in Japan is reflected in the improvement in the Yen cross-rates, which now stand at., Kobe–London 1/11 15/16d and Kobe-New York 47 7/16d.

The local exchange market closes steady with the following rates available, T/T London 2/6 15/16d., New York 61 7/8, Yen 77.

Our stocks of silver are reported as follows:—

Sycee and Bar Silver.....Tls. 79,832,000 an increase of Tls. 1,465,000

Chinese and Mexican Dollars.....$ 82,090,000 a increase of $ 2,190,000

Estimated value Tls. 138.936,000 as against Tls. 117,668,000 held at this time last year.

	Average rates for April	Thursday May 5	Wednesday May 6	Friday May 7	Monday May 9	Tues. May 10	Wed. May 11
Bank's selling rates		*opening closing*	*opening closing*	*opening closing*	*opening closing*	*opening closing*	*opening closing*
T/T London	2/6.293	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/4
D/Dfts ,,	—	2/6 15/16	2/6 15/16	2/6 15/16	2/6 15/16	2/6 15/16	2/6 15/16
4 m/s ,,	—	2/6 1/2	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/2	2/6 1/2	2/6 1/4	2/6 1/2
T/T India	169.000	169	169	169	169	169	169
T/T France	1.562,826	1565	1560	1560	1560	1560	1560
T/T N. Y.	61.337	61 1/4	61 1/2	61 1/4	61 1/2	61 1/2	61 1/4
T/T Hamburg		258	258	258	258	258	258
T/T H'kong	80.707	80 1/8	80 1/8	80 1/8	80 1/8	80 1/8	80 1/8
T/T Japan	78.940	77 3/4	77 1/2	77 1/2	77 1/2	77 1/2	77 1/2
T/T Batavia	152.457	152 1/4	152 1/8	152 1/8	152 1/8	152 1/8	152 1/4
T/T Straits	91.837	92	92	92	92	92	92
Bk's buying rates 4 m/s B/L. Cred. D/A	2/8.293	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4
4 m/s ,, D/P	—	2/8 3/8	2/8 1/4	2/8 3/8	2/8 3/8	2/8 1/4	2/8 1/4
6 m/s ,, B/L Cred D/A	2/8.606	2/8 15/16	2/8 15/16	2/8 15/16	2/8 15/16	2/8 15/16	2/8 15/16
4 m/s B/F Cred D/A or D/P	1.692,826	1695	0169	1690	1690	1690	1690
4 m/s N.Y.Lc.	64.837	64 3/8	64 3/8	64 1/4	64 1/4	64 1/2	64 3/8
4 m/s ,, Docs	—	65 1/4	65 1/4	65 1/4	65 1/4	65 1/4	65 1/4

†Based on Daily Official quotation, higher rate taken on rising Market, lower when falling Bullion.	May 5	May 6	May 7	May 9	May 10	May 11
*London Price of Bar Silver per oz. (English Standard 925 touch)...Pence	25 7/8	26	26 1/16	25 7/8	26 1/16	25 15/16
**New York Price of Bar Silver per oz. (Pure)	G. $.56 1/4	G. $. 56 1/2	G. $. 56	G. $. 56	G. $. 56 1/8	G. $.56 1/2
Shanghai Price of Gold Bars (weight Tls. 10 (Chanping) 978 touch).....	Tls. 369.00	371.30	373.60	373.10	373.80	374.10
Shanghai Silver Bars (weight Tls. 100(C.)999 touch)	Tls. 111.00	111.00	111.00	111.00	111.00	111.00
Shanghai Mexican Dollars per $100.....	Tls. 72.85	72.9125	72.95	72.9625	72.975	72.975
Native Bank Rate of Interest (Call money)	1%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
*Closing Price in Lond on for Previous day						
**Closing Price in New York for Previous day						

Bank of England rate of discount	4½%	London Paris on	T/T 123.94
Bank of France rate of discount	5%	New York on London	T/T 485 3/8
London open Market of Dis. 3 m/s	3 1/16%	Bombay on London	T/T 1/5 1/8
,, 4 ,,	3 1/16%	Hongkong on London	T/T 2/0 1/8
,, 6 ,,	3 1/16%	Kobe on London	T/T 1/11 31/32

What the Ships Carry between America and China

Return of the Shanghai Customs

Pls.—1 Picul or 133 1/3 pounds; Bls.—Bales; Pcs.—Pieces; Mills—thousands; Hk.Tls.—Haikwan Tls., Aug. Customs Rate Tls. 1.49 equal Gold $1

PRESIDENT MADISON,
April 1.

To Honolulu

Silk Piece Goods	Pls.	1.36
„ Pongees, Shantung	„	1.03

To San Francisco.

Tea, Green: Other Kinds, Shanghai	Pls.	6
Brassware	„	113
Chinaware, Fine	„	11
Feathers, Goose	„	75
Intestines, Pigs'	„	84
Oil, Wood	„	9,375
Tallow, Vegetable	„	1,680
Walnuts, Shelled	„	289
Carpets	Pcs.	221

To Los Angeles.

Feathers, Duck	Pls.	15

To Boston.

Silk, Waste: Shanghai.... Bls. 55	„	172.96

To New Bedford.

Silk, Waste: Shanghai Bls. 27..	„	85 24

To Mollends.

Lard	„	81

To Wilmington.

Skins, Goat, Untanned	„	505

To Charleston.

Hair, Human	„	12

To Papeete.

Cigarettes	„	27

To Arica.

Lead	Pls.	54

To Paterson.

Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: White .... Bls. 10	„	10.02

To New York.

Silk, Raw, Steam Filature: Yellow, Shanghai Bls. 60	„	60.96
Silk, Raw, Filature: Wild, Shanghai Bls. 140	„	143.37
Silk, Waste .. Bls. 29	„	95.94
„ Pongees, Honan..	„	8.66
„ „ Shantung.	„	5.78
Brassware	„	44
Cotton, Raw Bls... 50	„	207
Egg Albumen, Dried..	„	54
Feathers, Goose	„	88
Skins, Goat, Untanned	„	724
Hair, Human	„	96
Hides, Cow	„	303
Intestines, Pigs'	„	93
Oil, Wood	„	1,180
Rhubarb	„	25
Wool, Sheep's	„	342
Skins, Lamb, Untanned	Pcs.	11,179
„ Leopard,	„	219
„ Raccoon	„	7,000

PRESIDENT JACKSON,
April 2.

To Manila.

Silk, Raw, not Re-reeled & not Steam Filature: White, Shanghai Bls. 2	Pls.	1,60
White, other Ports Bls. 7	„	5.60
Silk Pongees, Shantung	„	1.99
„ Piece Goods	„	2.30
Beans	„	378
Groundnuts, Kernels	„	75
Hams	„	6
Cotton Towels	„	8
Nankeens	„	43
Seeds, Melon	„	143
Sweetmeats	„	13
Sheetings, Grey, Shanghai	Pcs.	200
Eggs, Fresh	Mille	1,040

MAYEBASHI MARU,
April, 6.

To Boston.

Skins, Goat, Untanned	Pls.	222

To Wilmington.

Skins, Goat, Untanned	„	176

To New York.

Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Ningpo	„	363
Antimony, Oxide	„	420
„ Regulus	„	2,520
„ Crude	„	418
Bristles, Assorted	„	68
Egg Albumen, Dried	„	82
„ Yolk, Dried	„	168
Feathers, Duck	„	98
Hides, Cow	„	390
Hair, Human	„	38
Oil, Camphor	„	37
Intestines, Pigs' Salted.	„	34
Seed, Sesamum	„	1,260
Skins, Goat, Untanned.	„	593
„ Hare	Pcs.	52,500

PRESIDENT POLK,
April 6.

from U. S. A.

Waterproof Cloth	Yds.	1,286
Woollen Yarn	Pls.	18
Steel Ang'es	„	30
„ Shafts	„	58
„ Screws	„	699
„ Galvanized: Wire	„	588
Tinned Plates, Plain	„	552
„ „ Old	„	322
Cement	„	931
Flour, Corn	„	30
Hams	„	4
Indigo Artificial: 20 per cent	„	419
50 „	„	118
Ink, Printing	„	158
Leather, Calf	„	3
Leather, Sole, Bellies & Shoulders	„	217
Leather, Sole, other kinds	„	369
Oranges, Fresh	„	257
Paper, Unclassed	„	3,604
Coffee	Gatties	2,709
Motor-cars	Pcs.	1
Machines, Knitting	„	2
Safes	„	6
Typewriters	„	20
Shoes	Pairs.	6,324
Hosiery	*Doz.*	313
Cigars	Mille	2
Cigarettes	„	1,070
Lemons, Fresh	„	22
Dyes, Aniline *Pkgs.* 330	Hk Tls.	6,424
Infants' Food	„	3,017
Treasure: Silver Bars	„	858,479

CLYDEBANK, April 7.
from U. S. A.

Leadfoil and Tinfoil	Pls.	622
Tinned Plates, Plain	„	301
Grease, Lubricating,	„	623
Petrolatum	„	1,424
Tobacco, Leaf	„	4,979
„ Prepared	„	6
„ Stalk	„	124
Oil, Linseed	Galls.	87
„ Lubricating Mineral	„	44,292
Cigarettes	Mille	60,000

PRESIDENT TAFT,
April 8.

From U S. A.

Cotton, Raw .. Bls. 35	Pls.	125
Cocoa	„	4
Fruits, Canned	„	103
Glue	„	84
Ink, Printing	„	2
Leather, Calf	„	1
„ Sole	„	312
Milk, Condensed	„	90
„ Evaporated	„	916
Newspapers, Old	„	420
Oil, Unclassed	„	9
Oranges, Fresh	„	288
Paper, Chipboard	„	4,902
Prunes; Dried	„	25
Saccharine	„	15
Seed, Brid	„	13
Sugar Cube	„	16
Tobacco, Prepared	„	5
Lemons, Fresh	Pcs.	174,450
Motor-cars	„	9
Canned, Sardines	Doz.	500
„ Goods, Unclassed	„	964
Coffee, in Tins	„	292
Cigarettes	Mille	6,250
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	19,080
Treasure: Silver Bars	Hk Tls.	728,171

PRESIDENT PIERCE,
April 9.

From Manila.

Betelnut Husk, Dried	Pls.	27
Bicho de Mar: Black, not Spike	„	43
White	„	69
Butter, Fresh	„	27
Buntal Fibre	„	9
Mangoes, Fresh	„	135
Rope	„	210
Tobacco, Leaf	„	48
Beer	Doz.	750
Cigarettes	Mille	154
Cigars	„	306
Treasure: Gold Coins, Amer.	Hk. Tls.	37,250

NINGCHOW, April 11.
from U. S. A.

Grease	Pls.	223
Leadfoil and Tinfoil, Mixture	„	365
Tobacco, Leaf	„	3,839
Wax, Paraffin	„	88
Cigarettes	Mille	37,500
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	60,190
„ Unclassed	„	11,588

Weekly Cotton Market Report

By J. Spunt & Co.

China Cotton:—Our market showed a little more activity during the past week than that experienced during the previous period, evolving a further advance in prices of about Tls. 2.00. per picul higher than last reported and confirming the tendency to a realization of greater heights during the course of this season and until the advent of the new season arrivals in the open market. Reference to our preceding issues, at this time, will amply explain the principal causes of the ascending trend in the rates on the local staple and while reperusing same, our indications to consumers to take advantage of offerings even at current values, will loom up more prominently and more forcibly and thus avoid any precipitation later to absorb necessary supplies at ultimately higher figures provided no untoward circumstances deflect the direction of the present natural inclination of the market.

Yarn:—Since our last report, our market has been quite firm with prices advanced some five to six taels for both near and forward deliveries. In all some 9000 to 10000 bales of local spinnings have changed hands for export to Canton, Tientsin, Newchwang, Ningpo, Wuhu, Kiangse and other interior ports.

As to the future trend of the market, we do not think there will be any serious decline of consequence owing to the fact that the interior markets are bare of stocks.

Liverpool:—

American-Middling	8.72
American-Middling last reported	8.45

Tone of Market, *Steady*.

Indian Market:—

Fully Good Bengal, May	280
Fine Oomra, May	296
Fully Good Broach, A./M.	321

Tone of the market—*Firm*.

New York Market:—

Price of Mid-Amer.	15.80 Sept.
	15.70 May.
	16.00 July.
	16.16 Oct.
	16.21 Dec.
	16.37 Jan.

Tone of the market:—*Firm*.

Shanghai Market:—

	Tls.
Tungchow, spot exwharf	33.00
Shanghai, Spot	32.25
M. Ginned, Spot	32.75
Shensi, No. 1 Spot	33.50
Ningpo, Spot, Exwharf	32.00

Tone of the market—*Firm*.

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Hankow actions; elimination of communists and anti-revolutionists; urges continuance of Northern expedition and also urges elimination of Hsu Chien, Borodin and other 'dangerous' elements in Wu-Han Government.

May 6—Chiang Kai-shek issues proclamation against acceptance of Hankow Central Bank Notes in Kiangsu area—Gen. Li Tsung-jen, commander of the 7th revolutionary army arrives in Shanghai for conference with Gen. Bei Tsung-chi—*Kuo Wen* Chinese agency publishes version of bombardment of Kiangyin forts stating that several Chinese soldiers and civilians and a number of cattle were killed; Gen. Li Min-yang, Nationalist commander at Kiangyin comes to Shanghai to lodge official complant over the incidents—Chang Chung-chang, Shantung tupan abolishes military and political organs along Tientsin-Pukow Railway—Gen. Tang Shen-tse arrives at Hsinyang, Honan—Yeh Tsh-chang, former editor of *Republican Daily News*, Shanghai, close adherent of Gen. Chiang Ksi-shek, appointed secretary of the Nanking Government, Kuomintang Exective Committee and provincal government of Kiangsu—Owing to necessity for reducing expenses Peking government recalls Liu Tsung-chief, Minister to Spain and Wang Ching-chi, minister to Belgium; Peking also retrenches by discharging 100 staff members from the Waichiaopu and 600 from the Ministry of Communications—Peking Foreign Office asks Tientsin commissioner of foreign affairs to ascertain whereabouts of Teng Chun-hsiang, compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in Peking who is alleged to have embezzled the sum of $1,400,000—Japanese refugees from Chungking, Wanhsien, Chengtu, Ichang and Hankow numbering more than 200 arrive in Shanghai—May 4 Celebration passes off quietly in Swatow—Peasant-troops at Puning, Kwangtung province, said to number several hundred to be well armed and trained by Communists, rout regular troops—Demonstration parades held at Foochow, but celebration marred by rain; pamphlets distributed demanding severance of economic relations with America, Britain and Japan and foreigners worried about future—Sino-Japanese conference on new treaty at Peking reaches another deadlock owing to Chinese continued refusal to grant 'most favored nation' treatment; also taking up question of Japanese right to navigate China's rivers—*Toho* agency reports that Chang Tso-ling has decided to try the Russians arrested in the Soviet Embassy Raid in a regular court instead of a military court martial—Japanese emperor sends Col. Ban Hasunuma, aid-de-camp, to China to inspect troops—Gen. Baron Tanaka, Japanese premier makes another statement on Japanese policy declaring that Japan will not support any party in China and that Japan will do nothing to interfere in China's domestic affairs, but will only attempt to protect her own nationals; that Japan cannot, however help but view with misgiving the communistic activities in China but is glad to note the recent tendency in China to eliminate the commuuistic elements; that Japan is still stydying the question of the Nanking incidents and is trying to cooperate with the other Powers—Japanese coast-defense ship Tsushima arrives at Shanghai with 200 marines—Chinese Goods Valuation Commission which has been working in Shanghai on the question of valuations for purposes of assessing customs rates, goes to Peking owing to opposition of Nationalist Government at Shanghai—British Government notifies Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister at Peking that British will not send a second Nanking Note unless the other Powers will cooperate with 'sanctions' as in view of the fact that neither Japan nor America are agreeable to the British proposal, there probably will be no second Note—Anti-Japanese circulars distributed at Wuhu in connection with May 4 celebration—Canton Government decides to pay off 30,000 idle strikers at the rate of $9 each and thus officially wind up the anti-Hongkong strike and boycott.

May 7—Chu Chao-hsin, China's delegate to the International Economic Conference, Geneva, in an address before the Conference declared that economic disorder in China is largely due to the Powers delay in in terminating economic restrictions of an unilateral character which hindered China's development of her natural resources, hindered her purchasing power and caused unemployment; stated that if China could gain her economic independence she would welcome foreign cooperation but that if foreign flags followed their dollars into China that China's development would be delayed—Gen. Chu Yu-puh returns to Tsinanfu, capital of Shantung—Nationalists order general attack on Pukow, Yang-chow and Tsinkiangpu—Nationalists at Nanking claim destruction of Northern armored train in Pukow result bombardment from Nanking—Famine conditions developing in Honan as result commandering rice by soldiery Fengtien forces—Kuomintang political committee, Shanghai, supervises reorganization Shanghai Chines Chamber of Commerce and election of provisional committee replacing old committee, among them being Yu Ya-ching, Fan Chiou-pei, Wang Hsiao-nai—Gen. Bei Tsung-chi addresses urgent appeal to local Chinese merchants and bankers for military funds in order to push the Northern Military campaign—Shanghai-Hangchow Railway resumes passenger train service.

May 8—Japanese residents of Hankow pass another resolution demanding that the Japanese Government adopt a more positive policy against the Hankow Communists—Japanese Rear-Admiral Ovamada, representing the Japanese Emperor arrives in Shanghai and holds inspection of Japanese naval forces in Shanghai—*Toho* report from Hankow states that Gen. Tang Shen-tse's troops forced to withdraw owing to strength of Fengtien offensive and seventy wounded soldiers sent to Hankow—May 4 celebrations in Canton pass off quietly—While wharf coolies at Hankow resume work, general uneasiness prevails and business is at standstill—Russians in Peking who were arrested in the Soviet Embassy raid, go on hunger strike demanding fair trial instead of military court martial—*Toho* reports that extremists in control at Kiukiang and that strict censorship is being maintained at the post office over Chinese correspondence, hut that foreign letters are thus far uninterfered with—Japanese Bank of Taiwan in Shanghai resumes business—C. C. Wu and Wang Chung-hui go to Nanking for conference with Chiang Kai-shek—Nanking Nationalists start campaign for loan of $30,000,000 in Shanghai based on Customs Surtax and are trying to make the loan popular by inducing small subscriptions from all sections of the community.

May 9—Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang, son of Chang Tso-ling arrives at Hsu-chowfu from Chengchow, Honan and following an interview with Gen. Kow Yin-chief, departs for Pengpu for a conference with Gen. Chang Chung-chang—Chang Tso-ling dispatches Gen. Yu Kuo-han to Shansi to make a final strong appeal for Gen. Yen Hsi-ahan's assistance and cooperation against the Christian General and the Nationalists—Gen. Chu Yu-puh, tupan of Chihli who has been helping Chang Chung-chang in Northern Kiangsu, returns to Tientsin—*Kuo Wen* report from Tientsin states that Fengtien has no intentions of advancing further south in Honan that Hsinyang on the Peking-Hankow Railway.

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Hsi-shan and the other across Honan from the West. The activities of the Christian General have been much of a mystery for a long time, the explanation for his lack of activity probably being due to shortage of munitions. The latest report is to the effect that Feng will not move definitely until the weather becomes warmer.

The Peking Situation

Peking has drifted more and more in the direction of a military dictatorship with Chang Tso-ling at the helm. The Peking Cabinet headed by Dr. Wellington Koo is powerless to do anything without the stamp of approval of Marshal Chang. The panicky feeling which existed in Peking following the raid on the Soviet Embassy has quieted somewhat, but Chang Tso-ling has not improved his position with the Chinese people by his wholesale execution, without trial, of the twenty alleged Chinese Communists who were arrested in the raid on the Soviet Embassy. These men, including several prominent Chinese among them one women, were simply taken out of jail and strangled.

Rendition of Tientsin Concession

The British and Chinese authorities in Peking and Tientsin, according to the reports, have practically completed the details for the transfer of the British Concession in Tientsin to the Chinese authorities. The Chinese who seems to deserve chief credit for the work is Philip K. C. Tyau, former Chief Tecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Peking but recently Chinese Minister to Cuba. Dr. Tyau's picture appears on another page. According to the rendition agreement which has practically been settled the Concession in future will be controlled by a joint committee composed of three Britons and three Chinese with a Chinese chairman appointed by the Chinese Government.

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